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ON THE HIGH PRICE OF SUGAR.

THE remarks which we have now to offer, we shall usher in by citing the following passage from the *Colonial Gazette*, of July 1 :—

"The difference between the prices of Foreign and British Colonial sugar, is not far from a hundred per cent. in favour of the former. In other words, the produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries. Thus works 'the great experiment.' Without the bounty on West India sugar, it would be driven out of the British market by the superior cheapness of slave-grown sugar. This bounty alone preserves the vast capitals of the West Indies from annihilation. It is not free-labour which produces sugar in the West Indies, but the bounty. The capitalist pursues his business not with a view to the ordinary profits of industry, but with a view to the bounty. No bounty, no sugar: this is now an undeniable fact."

Such is the dogmatical style in which a great question is decided—and we shall show presently, erroneously decided—by a powerful and influential writer; and in which a basis is laid for the establishment of important practical positions, and heavy discriminatory charges. We shall not meddle with these charges at present. It would divert us from our main object, which is to analyze the passage we have quoted, and to expose what we conceive to be its entire and mischievous fallacy.

We have, of course, no quarrel with the writer as to the statement with which he sets out, that "the difference between the prices of foreign and British colonial sugar is not far from a hundred per cent. in favour of the former;" but we complain emphatically of the language into which, in the following sentence, he translates this fact. "In other words," says he, "the produce of free-labour in the West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries." This is equivocal language. It may mean, either that the produce of free-labour in the West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in the British market*, as that of slave-labour in foreign countries—in which case it is indeed repeating "in other words" the fact asserted before: or it may mean, that the produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in cost of production* as that of slave-labour in foreign countries. That the latter is the meaning in the mind of the writer is plain from what he immediately adds—"Thus works 'the great experiment'"—and from the tenor and bearing of all the rest of the paragraph. And this view of the cost of production by free-labour he gives, not merely as his opinion, but as a direct and inevitable inference from the state of prices in the British market. His argument is this: Free-labour-sugar made in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear *in the British market* as slave-made sugar from foreign countries; therefore—or, to use his own phrase, "in other words"—the entire produce of free-labour in the British West Indies is nearly twice as dear as that of slave-labour in foreign countries *in cost of production*.

There are several fallacies in this argument. In the first place, it is fallacious to reason, as to the comparative cheapness of free and slave-labour, from the prices of a *single article* produced by them. Even if we were to admit—which we do not—that sugar is made cheaper by slaves than by freemen, we should not be shut up to the conclusion that slave-labour is universally cheaper than free-labour, since the production of this or any other particular article may be affected by special causes. Nor is it at all fair to argue such a question upon an insulated case. There are a hundred other things—coffee, rice, indigo, ginger, &c. &c., which are or have been produced by these two kinds of labour; and the question which kind of labour is the cheaper is in all candour to be decided by a reference to the whole extent of their application. The writer before us must permit us to ask him, how it happened that he cited the prices of no other article than sugar. Are there no other commodities in the market the prices of which would authorize his conclusion?

A second fallacy lies in quoting the prices merely of the *British market*. If anything as to the cost of production is to be inferred from the market price of an article, there is surely a necessity of taking its price in the general market of nations, and a want of fairness in selecting that of a single country, and one having a great peculiarity. The British market is the only one in the world in which the price of sugar is (as the writer we are dealing with tells us) "nearly a hundred per cent. in favour" of the slave-grown article. We are entitled to ask, how do the two articles stand as to price in the markets of other countries? And are aware, it is to be replied to this question, that British

colonial sugar is not offered for sale in any market in the world but the British, we rejoin that British colonial sugar is therefore not in the general market at all, and is not subject to the competition by which a real market price for it might be ascertained. It is in the British market only, where a heavy protecting duty gives it a monopoly, and enables it to command a price which it otherwise never would command; while at the same time foreign sugars, whether slave-grown or free, are kept out of the market, and forbidden to attain a price which, without the prohibitory duty, they would immediately secure. Yet it is the prices of such a market that the writer before us most unfairly employs as an index of the cost of production of the articles respectively.

It is still further fallacious, that this writer should argue from the prices of British and foreign sugar to the cheapness of free and slave-labour, because foreign sugars are not all of them slave-grown. Manilla and some other sugars are the produce of free-labour; and if any inference is to be drawn from the price of free-grown sugar to the cost of its production, these are entitled to be taken into the account as well as the British colonial. If British West India sugar being at forty-six shillings per cwt. be a proof that free-labour is dear, we do not see how it can be denied that Manilla sugar being at twenty-four shillings per cwt. is a proof that free-labour is cheap. There is evidently here a want of candour which tends to deprive a writer who can be guilty of it of all claim to confidence.

A fourth and principal fallacy in the passage we are examining is that of arguing at all from the price of commodities in the market to the cost of their production. It is true, that the cost of producing an article so far regulates its price in the market, that, if it does not bring a certain—that is a remunerating price, it will not long be in the market at all; but it is not true that the cost of production has anything to do with the price which an article, when it is in the market, will actually obtain. The market prices of goods—that is to say, the prices which can be got for them in the market—are incessantly varying, now a little higher, now a little lower; and in this endless change they are invariably regulated by the ratio which the demand bears to the supply. If the supply be large in proportion to the demand, prices will be low; if short, they will be high. No buyer ever thinks of asking a producer of any kind what the article cost, or of giving one farthing more for it because it may have cost more than he offers: and if the seller should harp on such a topic, he would find himself obliged to take the market price, even if it were less than the cost of production, or he would not sell at all. Articles are dear when the demand exceeds the supply; they are cheap when the supply exceeds the demand; and they are at what may be called a fair price, when the supply and the demand balance each other. As an article becomes scarce it rises; as it becomes abundant it falls; and the entire variation of prices is an exhibition of the ever-fluctuating ratio which the supply bears to the demand. You may make an article *more expensive* by augmenting the cost of its production; but you will not make it *dearer*, unless its value be such as to create a demand for it at an augmented price: and on the other hand, so long as a large demand exists for an article, you will not render it cheap even by producing it for nothing. Cheap production, in such a case, would put a large profit into the pocket of the producer, who would still get and take the market price for his commodity; while dear production would reduce profit, and might ultimately, if by such pressure, the demand should be affected, induce the abandonment of the occupation.

The principle we have thus stated as determining the market price of commodities in general, is as applicable to sugar as to any other article. Sugar, no doubt, is much dearer than it was; not because it *has cost more to produce it*, but because there is a short supply. And for no other reason than this. With the present proportion between the demand and the supply, if sugar were grown for a farthing a pound, we should not get it under nine-pence. The growers would take the market price—that is, the price created by the demand—although it yielded them a profit of a thousand per cent. We say, then, that the price we pay for sugar is no clue to the cost of its production. This may be great or it may be small; but it is neither the one or the other which makes it dear to us. And we complain that the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* has reasoned upon a false principle, and has so done what he may to mislead the public into a belief, that the high price of sugar is a proof of the high cost of its production, and of the failure so far of the great experiment of emancipation. It is not for us to say whether he has done this ignorantly or with design. This, however, we may say, that if there is any man in

England who ought to know what he has put us to the trouble of explaining, it is the conductor of the *Colonial Gazette*.

Now as the high price of British sugar in the market is the *only* proof which this writer brings of the high cost of its production, since this fails, we are entitled to say, that everything fails which he has founded on it; inferences, charges, and insinuations, all in right should disappear, like "the baseless fabric of a vision." If he knows that the growth and manufacture of sugar is now in the British colonies unusually expensive, let him bring forward his proofs. This we are entitled to challenge, and he will scarcely refuse. In the meantime, and until adequate and irrefragable proofs of such an assertion shall be brought forward, we profess that we hold a different opinion. That the supply of sugar is short we know, but we do not believe that emancipation has made the production of it more expensive. We are satisfied, on the contrary, that the West Indians generally never were making sugar so cheap as they are now, or securing such large profits. Of the reasons on which we found our belief, we will mention some.

In the first place, it has been demonstrated as a general truth, and by a survey of numerous facts bearing on the question, that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour; and we know of no reason why the cultivation of sugar should be an exception to the rule. Upon the general question the admirable paper of Mr. John Sturge, which was read before the Anti-slavery Convention, and which we have the pleasure of publishing to-day, is, we think, decisive; and we beg to recommend it to the perusal of the writer in the *Colonial Gazette*.

Secondly.—Ever since emancipation, sugar estates, unless subject to some special drawback, have been rising in value; which certainly would not have been the case if sugar-making was now more expensive than before.

Thirdly.—Another symptom quite as inconsistent with this supposition, is the special eagerness which has been shewn for immigration into those colonies where there is much uncultivated land. The great outcry for immigrants into British Guiana and Trinidad, has been supported by perpetual references to their immense quantities of virgin land, capable of producing sugar enough for all Europe, &c. &c.; that is to say, the proprietors are in great haste to make more sugar by free-labour, which they certainly would not be, if it were now made at a disadvantage as compared with the days of slavery.

Fourthly.—Our opinion is deducible even from the general desire expressed in the colonies for an addition to their number of free-labourers by immigration. For why are free-labourers wanted, unless their labour is profitable? The argument as it is now put on behalf of the West Indians is this: "It is expensive, ruinously expensive, to make sugar by free-labour; therefore send us more free-labourers!" Or turning it into the shape of an advertisement, it would read as follows: "Wanted in Jamaica 10,000 free-cultivators of sugar, because the expense of making sugar by free-labour ruins the planters!" What should we say to a similar advertisement in any other case? For example: "10,000 Cotton spinners wanted at Manchester, because the manufacturers can make no profit upon their goods!" No, no! Let our readers well understand it, and let the West Indians know that their preposterous fiction is clearly seen through. All the sugar growers who have conducted their affairs with any prudence have been making sugar cheaper than ever they did, and are at this moment putting into their pockets enormous profits; and it is just because they can make sugar cheap by free-labour that they are seeking for an augmentation of it.

It is on this state of things that reliance may be placed for the ultimate, and we hope the speedy relief of the sugar market at home. What can be raised at so large a profit as British sugar now commands will, unless seasons be adverse, soon be raised in greater abundance. Increased supply is the natural means of reducing the price; and this we fully expect both the East and the West Indies will speedily yield. In the mean time, let not the heart of any abolitionist smite him, that, by substituting free for slave-labour he has rendered sugar-making more expensive, or put into jeopardy "the vast capitals" employed in it.

ON FREE LABOUR.

[Paper read to the General Anti-Slavery Convention, by John Sturge, Esq.]

THE superiority of free over slave-labour, is a fact now so generally known, and the evidence on which it rests is so indisputable, that your committee think it needless to occupy the time of the Convention, by entering at much length into the proof of it. They will therefore confine themselves to a very brief view of the general principles which affect the question, and of the evidence which establishes the fact—that the labour of the free man is cheaper than that of the slave; and then pass rapidly on to the application of these principles to the present position of our cause, and to the consideration of their probable influence on the abolition of slavery throughout the world. They proceed to show—

1st. That the cost of slave-labour is greater than that of free; and,

2nd. That slave-labour is less productive.

1st. The expense of slave-labour resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

Let us omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be born on the estate (and breeding is admitted to be, under

ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply,) the expense of free-labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements; since the wages paid to free-labourers of every kind must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race.

Now it is observed by Adam Smith—' The wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former: the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter.' The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms. A statement from one of the slave districts in the United States shows that, taking the purchase-money, or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free-labourer in the neighbouring districts.

2nd. Slave-labour is less productive, as 'the slave,' says Storch, 'working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion; he becomes a machine, often very obstinate, and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free-labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free-labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave.'

Hume remarks, "I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off and not getting another service will give a freeman."

Burke observes, 'Slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in everything; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours the more he is to acquire, this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues under which he would otherwise have sunk.'

Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbados as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes 'that it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves, whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of freemen.'

The following facts will sufficiently establish the correctness of these opinions.

President Cooper, of South Carolina, says, 'Slave-labour is undoubtedly the dearest kind of labour. The usual work of a field hand is barely two-thirds of what a white day labourer, at usual wages, would perform; this is the outside. Nothing,' he continues, 'will justify slave-labour in point of economy, but the nature of the soil and climate, which incapacitates a white man from labouring in the summer time on the rich lands in Carolina and Georgia. In places merely agricultural, as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, slave-labour is entirely unprofitable. It is so even in Maryland and Virginia.'

From a calculation made under the guidance of M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies, it appears that field slaves do only between a-third and a-half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a-third of what those very slaves would do if urged by their own interest.

Dr. James Anderson, in an excellent pamphlet entitled 'Observations on Slavery,' published in 1788, shows, that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a free man. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the freemen who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and twice as dear as common day-labour.

In further confirmation of this fact, Mr. Samuel J. Prescod, the Editor of the *Barbados Liberal* and a delegate to this Convention states—

"Throughout the colonies, the effective powers of the labourer have been greatly increased by his emancipation; and he can now do double, and occasionally treble, the quantity of work which he was thought capable of doing when a slave."

"In almost all the colonies (I am not prepared to say all,) at the commencement of the apprenticeship, the planters themselves adopted certain scales of labour by which to regulate the work of the apprentices. These scales showed the quantity of every kind of work which should constitute a fair day's task. The abolition act had left them only a definite portion of the negro's time daily, beyond which they could not command his services; and it was an object with them to make the best use they could of that time, and get all the work they could out of him during the legal hours



of labour. I am not accurately informed of the mode in which the scales of labour were got up in the other colonies; but if you look into Sherlock's Jamaica Almanack, you will find that, in the several parishes of that island, they were adopted at public meetings of the planters—the labourers having no part therein. The Barbados scale was formed by a committee of three planters. Messrs. Hewitt, Marshall, and Sharpe, appointed by the governor, at the advice of his council, for that purpose, and was laid before the council (composed of planters) and approved by them previously to its promulgation. It was then, without the formality but with all the force of law, directed in circular to the special justices, to guide their decisions on all questions of labour arising between the apprentices and their employers.

"Those who are at all acquainted with human nature, and especially West India planter's nature, will not for a moment imagine that these scales so formed unduly favoured the negro, by exacting from him a less amount of labour than long experience had shown he was capable of rendering.

"This scale-work, when undertaken as a task, the free labourer now commonly does in half the day, and I have known the Barbados labourer do three of these tasks in one day. In September, 1838, the whole first gang (men and women) on Lemon Arbour estate, St. John's parish, completed these three tasks in a day; and Mr. Christopher Massiah, a respectable planter, to whom, some days after, I was mentioning the feat, informed me that the same had been performed at Sunbury estate. This is not confined to Barbados. In Trinidad the same remarkable fact appears: the free negro commonly performs two tasks in a day, and has occasionally done three. This I learnt from good authority among the planters themselves in the island; and the delegates sent over to that island by certain of our free coloured brethren of America, with a view to their emigration, report this fact on the authority of the planters. Messrs. R. Semple and Co., who hold property in British Guiana, in a letter to Lord John Russell, dated 25th November, 1839, bear evidence to this fact as regards that colony:—'many of the labourers on our estates,' they say, 'have occasionally performed treble the quantity' of a day's task; and the advertisements put forth in Barbados for emigrants to that colony and to Trinidad uniformly state, in substance, that the day's task may easily be performed in half the day.

"I have conversed with many hundred labourers, men and women, in Barbados, on this subject—frequently with whole gangs at once; and they have all agreed in affirming their ability and their willingness, 'if kindly used and encouraged,' to do two tasks generally; and I am perfectly satisfied on the evidence, that, not only in Barbados, but in every one of the colonies, the freed negro can do *continuously*, and under a judicious management and such treatment as human beings have a right to expect from those who employ their service, would readily do, for fair wages, at least half as much more work than they did in slavery;—that is to say, two labourers of every class would now perform the work which it then required three of the same class to do."

If slave-labour were cheaper than free-labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but this presumption is contradicted by experience.

"A few Polish nobles," observes Coxe, in his travels in Poland, "of benevolent hearts and enlightened understanding, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests, than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion."

The nobles who granted freedom to the peasants were Zainoiski, formerly great chancellor, Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe Broysolhowski, and afterwards Stanislaus, the king of Poland. After a particular statistical detail, showing the increase of numbers and other facts connected with the change, the writer adds—

"Since the enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances as to provide themselves with all the necessary implements for the cultivation of the land, and food and clothing for themselves at their own expense, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. By these means the receipts of these estates have been nearly tripled.

"In Hungary a similar experiment has been made of emancipating the vassals, and with the same success.

"Count Festetics, an Hungarian nobleman, having purchased an estate in the Murakos, a tract of country between the Muhr and the Drave, granted lands to the peasantry at a fixed annual rent, instead of the common tenure of service. In these free villages the value of land has risen to such a degree, that the owner of four acres is esteemed wealthy, and the population has increased from fifty families to six hundred. Although still subject to the government duties, and suffering from the effects of two bad seasons and an inundation of the Drave, these peasants were, in 1814, striving cheerfully with the difficulties of their situation, while their neighbours on the common footing, although each family possessed thirty acres, were reduced to subsist on the bounty of their lord."

It is stated in the supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency,

Governor Parry, answered by the Hon. Joshua Steel, a planter of 1068 acres in the parish of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the island of Barbados—"On a plantation of 283 slaves, in June, 1780, viz. ninety men, eighty-two women, fifty-six boys, and sixty girls, there were only fifteen births, and no less than fifty-seven deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves; the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried and sentence passed by a negro court. In four years and three months under this change of government, there were forty-four births, and only forty-one deaths, of which ten deaths were of superannuated men and women, and past labour, some eighty years old. But, in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years."

We will cite one more fact:—

In a late communication from America, from an intelligent observer, it is remarked, "The state of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situated upon the navigable rivers that flow into Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expense of that from the upper parts of the state; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave-district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper district, which is cultivated principally by freemen. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south and the other on the north side of Maryland, the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same soil and local advantages will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania. This single, plain, incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free-labour, and, it is presumed, renders any further illustration unnecessary."*

No one, we think, can avoid being struck with the surprising coincidence which exists between all the facts that we have cited, although occurring under very different circumstances, and in situations widely distant from each other; or fail to acknowledge that they are of themselves sufficient to establish, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the important principle for which we are contending.

We adduce them now, not because they are new, but because the nature of the case required this kind of cumulative evidence, and in order to show their exact accordance with the results of emancipation in the British colonies. In these, also, the labour of the freeman has been substituted for that of the slave, and short as is the period which has since elapsed, your committee could easily fill their report with examples of the improved condition of the people and the increased value of the estates which have been consequent on the change.

They select the following, partly from the evidence of gentlemen now present at this Convention, who have been eye-witnesses of them since the negroes were emancipated on the 1st of August, 1838, and the remainder from official documents.

W. Wemyss Anderson, Esq., a solicitor of high character and extensive practice in Jamaica, and lately a member of the legislature, states:—

"He was not a planter himself, but it happened to him frequently that he had the disposal of estates, and in all those cases he had been perfectly beset by people requesting the preference of purchasing those estates; and no longer ago than on his voyage to this country, he had been solicited to obtain the preference for a gentleman, to whom he had been under some trifling obligations, for the lease of a valuable estate, for which he was disposed to give a handsome rent. The value of property in the neighbourhood of towns, he could state from experience, had in many cases doubled, and he had bitterly repented of many sales of property he had made, in consequence of the increase in its value. There was another feature of their prosperity in Jamaica, in the establishment of banks. What did the meeting think of three banks being established in Kingston, where there were no banks before, and those banks were established for the purpose of advancing money and making profit? Some of those banks which had only set up last year, had realized 50 per cent. upon their original stock; and one bank had already divided ten per cent., and laid by a considerable reserve fund."

Edmund W. Baynes, Esq., special magistrate, in a letter to Edmund B. Lyon, Esq., dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, April 12th, 1840, says:—

"But the surest sign of the improvement and real prosperity which have attended freedom, is the increased value of land. I know a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, who purchased an estate, I think in 1833, for the sum of £2200, and sold it last year for £10,000, though, when he bought it, there were seventy slaves located on it, for whom he received compensation, and of course had not to sell when he disposed of it. There are numerous other instances of this wonderful increase of the value of property. Land is now selling four miles from this town at £50. per acre, and in other parts as much as £100 have been given.

* For a full investigation of this subject, see Hodgson's Letter to J. B. Jay, on the comparative value of free and slave-labour.

In 1835, I bought myself ten acres of ground in the wildest part of St. John, for the purpose of planting ground provisions for the use of my family, at the rate of £4 per acre. I have since been offered £5 per half acre, and can sell the whole at that price.

"Another undeniable proof of increasing prosperity is the founding of new villages and townships, and the rapid increase in size and population of former towns and settlements in every part of the country. New chapels and churches are seen rising in every quarter, and there are now ten schools and twenty scholars where there was one in 1832. Institutions for agricultural and scientific purposes, the idea of which, six years back, would have excited laughter, are now formed in most parishes of the island. Nor is the vast improvement which has taken place, confined to the land, it has also extended to the sea. Money has been voted for the erection of a light-house on Mount Keys.

"Imports, the surest sign of internal prosperity, have been nearly doubled in the short space of two years; and that exports have not increased, is owing to the unwise policy pursued by the bulk of the planting interest, who, of all the inhabitants of Jamaica, are the only unreasonable, the only dissatisfied, the only unimproved."

Mr. J. W. Grant, stipendiary magistrate for the parishes of Manchester and Clarendon, Jamaica, in a report to the Governor, dated June 10th, 1839, states,

"I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country are the very persons who grasp most firmly the property they have in it, and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more.

"I knew one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined."—Vide Parliamentary papers, No. I. p. 8.

In a report from the parish of St. James, dated June, 1839, signed by Walter Finlayson and William Carnaby, special magistrates, it is stated,

"There will be deficiency of crop on many estates in this parish owing to dry weather last season, neglect of cultivation after the 1st of August, and general bad management on the part of overseers and proprietors in refusing or delaying to offer reasonable terms to the labourers by which the crops were injured."—Ibid. page 13.

Mr. Grant, in a report dated Manchester, Jamaica, July 17th, 1839, states,

"This parish is in a state of perfect tranquillity, and every day is developed some new proof of the superiority of free-labour and unrestricted competition."—Ibid. page 15.

In a report to the governor dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, and signed by J. H. Ball, and J. W. Jackson, special justices, we find the following facts.

"After the commencement of the apprenticeship, Mr. Aris purchased a sugar estate called Enfield, in St. Thomas in the Vale. Alarmed at the panic which pervaded upon the attainment of unrestricted freedom by the late apprentices, he sold the freehold to Mr. Sanguinetti for £5000., (being £2000. more than Mr. Aris had given for it.) After realizing £2000. by the crop, Mr. Sanguinetti reconveyed the estate to Mr. Aris for £6000, thus obtaining by one year's cultivation 40 per cent on his capital, (some portion of which was never paid down,) and 60 per cent. by the cultivation and sale; this too, during the most eventful period, the first year of unconditional freedom; and large as this return is, we understand that it does not exceed that obtained by Mr. Aris previous to his disposing of the estate. Mr. Duncan Hamilton sold an estate in St. John's lately, by which he was as great a gainer, either as Mr. Aris or Mr. Sanguinetti."—Ibid. page 26.

In a report dated Buff Bay, St. George's, Jamaica, 7th August, 1839, signed by Edward E. Fishbourne, stipendiary magistrate, it is stated, "Job and task work are adopted very generally in all descriptions of labour in which they are applicable. Cane holes are dug by the job at from £5. to £6. per acre. The price paid to jobbing masters before August, 1838, was from £10. to £12., and I have heard of £15. being offered on an emergency, and refused, in consequence of the distance to be travelled by the negroes. It was considered if forty able people dug an acre of cane holes they did good work, and jobbing masters got £10. or £12. for that quantity, which is equal to 5s. or 6s. per day. The task as laid down in the parish scale of labour was eighty, seventy-five, or fifty holes per day per man, or at the rate of from forty to sixty-four negroes per acre. The free negroes now dig eighty holes per day for 3s. 4d., which, there being 2722 holes to the acre, is at the rate of £5. 13s. 4d. per acre, or from £4. 6s. 8d. to £6. 6s. 8d. an acre cheaper than the same would have cost an estate during the apprenticeship. On very good soils seventy and seventy-five holes are given for 2s. 1d. and 2s. 6d.

"An instance has come to my knowledge of a negro who contracted to dig, pick, tie, and carry top plants, and plant off a piece of seven and a-half acres, for £8. per acre, or £60 for the job. The contract was fulfilled and the money paid. The same during the apprenticeship if dug at £10., and the other part of the labour done at 3s. 4d. per day, the rate of day-labour paid jobbing masters for the last two years, would have amounted to nearly double the sum with which the free negro was contented."—Ibid. page 29.

A report dated Trelawney, July 31st, 1839, and signed Edmund B. Lyon, stipendiary magistrate, says:—

"At this period last year, while the result of free-labour was a speculative matter, calculations were published by various parties on the probable expense and profits of sugar cultivation by free-labour. In nearly all the data it was presumed no profit would be realized on estates which made less than eighty hogsheads. The amount for contingencies inseparable from such manufacturing establishments was computed to be nearly as great on those small estates as on larger ones. The experience of this crop has however shown that apprehension to have been illusory, as I have had opportunities of learning that, even where less than eighty hogsheads have been made, a very considerable income has been realized. One estate in this parish making seventy-five hogsheads, with a proportionate quantity of rum, has netted £1000. sterling."—Ibid. page 38.

Mr. Henry Walsh, special magistrate, in a report, dated 5th August, 1839, says:—

"If the planter fails in the want of labour it will be his own fault, as labour can be had for honesty and fair remuneration. I assure your Excellency that the great noise raised by the planters, saying that the people refuse to pay rent, is totally false, as far as my jurisdiction extends; on the contrary, the planters refuse to rent (let) houses at all, thereby thinking that the people will be more under their control.

"The sugar cultivation in many estates, is far superior to that in past years, and no fear remains of our great measure being successful under the auspices of just laws."—Ibid. p. 35.

The Rev. Thomas F. Abbott, Baptist minister, in a letter to the Rev. W. Knibb, dated St. Ann's Bay, May 4th, 1840, says:—

"As to the working of the free-system, which is a subject on which you will need information which may be depended on, I can report most favourably. You will recollect, that on many of the estates in the vicinity of this town, permanent and fair arrangements for rent and labour (kept distinct) were entered into between the managers and labourers before you left. These arrangements have been carefully observed by both parties; no disputes have occurred on those properties. No work for the magistrates to do—the people work well—get good wages, and pay their rent regularly. I have it on good authority, that on Seville estate from seven to eight hogsheads of sugar are made per week more than were ever made on it during slavery. And Mr. Pink, the proprietor of Drax Hall, told me a few days ago that the people on that estate were giving him great satisfaction, that he expected the property would yield three hundred hogsheads of sugar this year, which is full one-third more than its average crop; that he wishes to extend the cultivation of the cane, and can do so, giving liberal wages, at an amazing profit."

The Rev. William Knibb states, "that Bowden Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica, was purchased about two years ago, by D. Hart, Esq., of Kingston, for £4000. That in March, 1840, Mr. Hart assured him (Mr. Knibb,) that he had cleared £4000 by it in two years. He stated that he obtained continuous labour without difficulty, at very moderate wages;" and Mr. Knibb has in his possession a pay bill of this estate, by which it appears that the wages of seventy-two persons for one week amounted to £31 15s. currency, or less than £20 sterling, no rent being charged for the houses and provision grounds.

Richard Lewis, Esq., of Ballard's Valley, St. Mary's, Jamaica, a planter, of twenty-seven years experience, and attorney or agent for seven fine sugar estates in that parish, in a correspondence with H. Barkly, Esq., commencing December 26th, 1839, and concluding February 7th, 1840, which has been officially laid before the governor, states the following facts, which we introduce as a brief evidence of the proceedings of the planters throughout Jamaica, and a satisfactory reply to the inquiry why the produce of sugar has diminished since the establishment of freedom.

"When (during the apprenticeship) the law was about to come into operation, giving extra power to the governor and special magistrates, I clearly saw in it, such objections, that it was impossible for any estate to be cultivated under it. I immediately wrote to Joseph Temperon, Esq., Mrs. Cruikshank, &c., advising them to give me power to at once declare their negroes free, as that was the only way to get rid of that odious law. Public meetings were held, and at one at Port Maria I strongly recommended planters (for the same reason) to request the members of the House of Assembly to do away with the remaining term of the apprenticeship. This was done by the house; but my supporting and advising the measure got me the ill-will of every person connected with negroes. Many were very violent at the time, and few have ever forgiven me. I was assailed on all sides, and the ill-feeling towards me rose beyond belief, when I declared what wages I intended giving.

"I had taken great pains to find the lowest rate that negroes would work for, and the highest price that could be got from them as rent for their houses and being clearly convinced that negroes could not be got to work in time to save estates from ruin for less, I offered 2s. 6d. per day, subject to 5s. per week rent; it was accepted by the negroes, and I have never made the slightest change since.

"This was, however, at variance with other planters, and a very few only followed my plan; the greater number would not listen to it. Some tried plans that never could succeed; others offered wages that were laughed at by the negroes, and many held off so long from entering into arrangements that the properties were nearly in total ruin. Those in the management of estates,

now find they are obliged to follow my plan, giving, as I do, 2s. 6d. per day for able labourers, and charging 5s. per week for rent. But instead of allowing they were in error at first, and allowed so much time to elapse that the estates were nearly thrown out of cultivation, they try to make you believe otherwise, and report to you that I give higher wages than they, and that my estates, or this estate, is like others in the parish. To which I say, look at the season and recorded crops for the state of cultivation, and to the estate's books for the rate of wages."

Mr. Lewis further states to Mr. Barkly:—"The rent books I will also show you, and you shall be convinced I have actually received in hard cash upwards of £800 from the people located in Ballard's Valley, £1500 from the negroes on Mr. Tempon's estates, New Ramble and Union, and an equal sum from Mr. Ellis's estates.

"Your opinion as to it (Ballard's Valley) not paying its expenses is equally erroneous, for it will give the proprietor fully £6000 clear.

"You remark in your letter your having told Mr. Mailton you would be sorry to be the proprietor of Ballard's Valley in 1839. It is most gratifying to me that the actual proprietor has good reason, and actually does think very differently, which is tolerably clear from her having sent me a very elegant piece of plate, (which I have ordered to be shown you) with the following inscription: 'presented by Mary Cruikshank to Richard Lewis, Esq., in token of her sense of his superior management of Ballard's Valley estate, St. Mary's, Jamaica, during the times of excitement, owing to change from slavery to a period of apprenticeship and ultimate freedom.'

"London, August, 19th, 1839."

Your committee have now before them facts and statements equally convincing as to the beneficial working of free-labour in Barbados, Antigua, Trinidad, and our other West India islands but these they omit, because they feel that they have already amply made out their case, and because in these islands, taken as a whole, there has been no deficiency in the produce of sugar since emancipation. It is in Demerara and in Jamaica that this deficiency has occurred; in the former it has been produced by the excessive drought of the last season; and in the latter, by a blind and fatuous attempt on the part of a large proportion of the managers of estates to coerce the negroes into the acceptance of a rate of wages below the fair value of their labour—an attempt unhappily not yet abandoned.

We need not say more to show that slavery is an expensive and impolitic system of cultivation; and if so, the question naturally occurs, how should it arise, and why is it maintained? To this we reply, that under certain given circumstances it may be profitable; and these circumstances are a large quantity of rich unoccupied land, and a great scarcity of labour, with high prices of produce.

Land can have no value without people, and its fertility may be so great as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour. Where land is so easily obtained, a man will rather work for himself than become the hired labourer of another, and from this circumstance the wages of free-labour may be so high as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour.

It is under these circumstances alone that slave-cultivation has been established, and under these circumstances alone that, unless supported by bounties and protecting duties, as it was till lately in the colonies of Great Britain, that it can continue to exist.

These considerations will explain the reason why the land-owners of Indiana and Illinois, attempted to obtain the introduction of slavery into that newly inhabited state.

But this state of things cannot continue long. As population increases, all the richer lands become occupied; the difficulty of obtaining hired labourers is at an end; and the wages of free-labour, in consequence, soon reach that point at which it becomes, as in other cases, the interest of the cultivator to employ it in preference to slave-labour.

If, however, blind to his own interest, he continues to persist in his impolitic system of slave-cultivation, the natural fertility of the soil may be so great as to enable him to do so without absolute ruin to himself. But even this advantage will soon fail him, for, by one of these admirable and beautiful provisions which seem appointed by the Author of Nature to defeat the selfish purposes of man, when pursued in opposition to his laws, it is found that slave cultivation has an invariable tendency to lessen the fertility of the soil. In a manner which at first sight appears almost miraculous, the earth refuses to lend her support to a system of injustice; and while 'she multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave.' The cause of this extraordinary fact will be made clear to us by a few very simple considerations.

It is well known that a continual succession of the same crops will deteriorate the richest soils. To maintain their fertility it is necessary to have recourse to green crops and the pasturage of cattle; and in the natural course of things, under the influence of freedom, the demands of a civilized community make it the interest of the cultivator to devote a considerable portion of his land to these purposes.

But under a system of slavery his interests are widely different. He has then no inducement to rear cattle. The labour usually assigned to them in a free country is performed by his slaves, and he has therefore no need of their living services. They

would be equally useless to him when dead, because beef and mutton are luxuries almost wholly denied to the slave, who is obliged to content himself with the cheapest and coarsest food which can support life. In other respects they would be of little or no value to him, because the wants of a slave population are not considered to require either leather or woollen cloth, or any of those comforts which the freeman derives so largely from the animals whose flesh supplies him with food.

For these reasons, in slave-countries it is the constant practice to persevere in a ruinous succession of the same exhausting crops,* and the productiveness of the soil is in consequence gradually diminished. In our West India islands this has taken place universally; in the United States the same effects have arisen from the same cause. Even in countries where the population, although not actually enslaved, has been long degraded by oppression to a condition nearly allied to slavery, the same fact has been exhibited in a very extraordinary manner.

A late traveller in Greece remarked with astonishment, that many districts of this beautiful region, once distinguished by their exuberant fertility, were now become barren and unproductive.

The fact of the rapid deterioration of the soil in all slave-countries can be established beyond all doubt.

"The produce of these islands," says Bryan Edwards, in 1798, in his History of the West Indies, "is raised at an expense to the cultivator which perhaps is not equalled in any other pursuit in any other country in the globe. The negroes have been kept up and even augmented by purchase, because as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour to make them any way productive." "And for what," says Mr. Justice Jeremie, in his work on Colonial Slavery, "are we making such sacrifices in the West Indies? To change the very face of nature. Columbus and the earlier navigators have described these older colonies, as they stood clothed in the most brilliant verdure; they are now arid, parched, and exhausted. Cultivation elsewhere converts deserts into gardens, here gardens into a desert. How comes it that St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Demerara, are still so fertile? Because they are but recently inhabited. And why but recently inhabited? Because these now parched and exhausted colonies originally presented greater inducements."

The Hon. John Taylor, a senator of the United States, from Virginia, states, "The fertility of Virginia has long been declining. The falling off in the culture of tobacco is testimony to this unwelcome fact. It is deserted because the lands are exhausted. Whole countries which once grew tobacco are too sterile to grow any of moment, and the wheat crops substituted for tobacco have already sunk to an average below profit. Negro slavery," he continues, "is a misfortune to agriculture, incapable of removal."

It appears, therefore, that, by an almost necessary consequence, slavery produces a system of cultivation destructive to the fertility of the soil. When from the influence of these causes the estate of the planter has been impoverished, economy and good management become indispensable. But it is found by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

It will thus be seen that, by the operation of this beautiful law, slavery always contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Slave-cultivation requires, as necessary conditions to its existence, fertility of soil, scarcity of labour, and high prices of produce; and if either of these conditions cease it must soon draw to a close. If the system be maintained in all its atrocious severity, as in the older West India colonies of Great Britain, population is indeed kept down, but the deterioration of the soil after a while makes it unprofitable; and if, on the other hand, the comfort of the slaves be provided for, they increase in number, and labour becomes so plentiful that they are of little value. In either case fresh importations will cease, and the slave-trade be at an end.

The planter is thus driven to a cheaper mode of cultivation, viz., by home-bred slaves; and if our views be correct he will soon be compelled to quit even his new position by the unrestricted competition of free-labour.

Thus, as we have stated before, while the Brazilian cotton-grower has been far outstripped by the planters of Carolina, the latter have been themselves driven out of the cultivation of indigo, in consequence of its cheaper production by free-labour in the East Indies. In about three years after the first importations of indigo from the east, the Carolinas closed their ports against any fresh importations of slaves, and although they found employment for their hands in the cultivation of cotton, yet it may fairly be estimated that several hundred thousand Africans have been saved from the horrors of slavery in consequence of the cultivation of indigo by free-labour. Whenever the competition of free-labour can be fully and fairly brought into action, it is the conviction of your committee that its first triumph will thus be the destruction of the slave-trade, and its last and final one, the extinction of slavery itself.

Having thus, as we trust, satisfactorily demonstrated that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, we next proceed to show that, of all kinds of slave-labour, that kept up by fresh importations of slaves is the dearest.

(To be concluded in our next.)

* W. W. Anderson, Esq. states, that to such an extent is this system pursued in Jamaica, that he is compelled to import the hay for his horses from England.

SLAVERY AND THE METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Bristol, 7th Month 15, 1840.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Agreeably to thy request of yesterday to be informed of the position which the Methodist church of America occupies in respect to the subject of slavery, I hand the following, and be assured I do it with feelings of pity and not with those of anger; for I believe, did the Methodist Episcopal church of America view the accursed system as the venerated founder of Methodism personally saw it, they would cordially respond to his exclamation, that “it is the sum of all villainies,” and do as he did, “strike at the root of this complicated villainy.” And why should they strike? Wesley himself furnishes a better reason than I can, why his followers should follow his illustrious example. “This equally concerns all slave-holders of whatever rank and degree, seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers. The blood of thy brother crieth against thee from the earth. Oh! whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, and at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, and thy lands, at present are stained with blood. Liberty is the birthright of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.” Unnumbered are the Methodists in America who hold slaves, and scores of thousands of that body are held as slaves, and many of them by members of the Methodist Episcopal church!!!

I am aware that some of my remarks yesterday gave thee pain, so far as concerned the Methodist church, and that thou wert not less pained than surprised they should be based on historical facts; and that thou regretted they were not generally known by the British conference and the Methodists generally through the length and breadth of the land. I trust thou wilt use thy best endeavours to spread the contents of this letter, so that ignorance of such a state of things may not longer prevail, and I pray that a remedy may be sought and found by a body of christians whom I love, professing Methodism on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, or that they will cease to be one with them on the American continent, so long as the southern portion may be entitled to be ranked among “men-stealers.” In the general rules of the society in America, p. 75, it is described as “a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.” This is a good foundation, love being the operative principle of cementing influence. How far does the system of slavery raise a superstructure on that foundation? Has not slavery produced obliquity of vision among members, in annual and quadrennial conferences? To use the words of the Discipline, page 53, has not slavery produced “a base man-pleasing temper, so that we let them (slaveholders) perish rather than lose their love; we let them go quietly to hell, lest we should offend them. Some of us (preachers) have a foolish bashfulness; we know not how to begin, and blush to contradict the devil.” In the edition of 1836, the Discipline, p. 188, reads, “We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.”—“When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives.” Before closing this letter it will be perceived, I think, that the above is a mere rope of sand.

Let us examine the subject a little. Although it be a painfully distressing one, yet it concerns every member of the Methodist body in this country, for each is identified with the Methodist episcopal church in America, inasmuch as the English conference is represented by delegation in the American quadrennial conference, from whence I learn that Robert Newton is just now returned; but I presume a forty days’ residence did not permit a view of slavery even through a hole in the wall; so that he has not seen its revolting abominations and sin against high heaven, nor its crushing and damning influence on his fellow-man. At the quadrennial conference of 1836, by a vote of one hundred and twenty two to eleven! it was “resolved, by the delegates of the annual conference in general conference assembled, that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, or wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding states of the Union.” In the same year, 1836, the New York conference excluded candidates from ordination, unless they would pledge themselves to let anti-slavery alone, and over thirty were ordained under this pledge. In 1838, this conference suspended two of its members from the ministry, and subjected others to ecclesiastical censure, for attending a Methodist anti-slavery convention, and writing for *Zion’s Watchman*, a paper edited by one of their own ministers; yet this conference passed a resolution in favour of the colonization society, which a well known gentleman describes as the “queen of humbugs.” It is not to be wondered at that such proceedings should take place, when it is known that the quadrennial conference of 1836, refused to publish the address of the British conference, as it had a paragraph on slavery, in which it was said, “We trust that your connexion have already begun to condemn this baneful system.” And to the honour of the English conference, in their next correspondence it says, “We regret that the allusion in our epistle of last year to the subject of slavery should have occasioned you either pain or embarrassment; we intended to affirm the principle that slavery is a system of oppressive evil, and is in direct opposition to the spirit of our divine religion, and we hoped that the time had arrived when our beloved sister connexion in America would be prepared to act on these sentiments.” Is this ‘modern abolitionism?’ I presume it is both *ancient and modern*, and such as the hundred and twenty-two against a minority of eleven are decidedly opposed to. The Baltimore conference of 1837, enacted that the rule of discipline be construed “so as not to make the guilt or innocence of the accused to depend upon the simple fact of the purchase or sale of any such slave or slaves, but upon the attendant circumstances of cruelty, injustice, or inhumanity, on the one hand, or of those kind purposes or good intentions on the other, under which the transactions shall have been perpetrated; and further it recommends that in all such cases the

charge be brought for *immorality*, and the circumstances be adduced as specifications under that charge.” The Georgia conference, in 1837, resolved; “Whereas there is a clause in the discipline of our church, which states that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery, and whereas the said clause has been *perverted* by some, and used in such a manner as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal church believed slavery to be a moral evil;” therefore resolved, “That it is the sense of the Georgia annual conference, that *slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil.*” Resolved, “That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven.” When conferences act thus, is it not occasion for marvel that the Methodist official paper, published at Charleston, South Carolina, and edited by no less a man than is styled the “Reverend Dr.” Capers, should state that “Abolitionism tends to infidelity, and that slavery tends to the salvation of the negroes;” and in one of his speeches, in mentioning various reasons why Methodists after a certain date became less odious to the people of the southern states, said, “At length people began to consider that many of them were slave-holders!”

I perceive, my friend, an inroad made into the very spirit of the discipline, which should be met, let the consequences be what they may, at the very threshold. I allude to page 76, which states that the requisite qualification for membership is “a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins;” yet S. K. Hodges, a presiding elder at Columbus, in the state of Georgia, as appears by the Methodist official paper, under date of October 28th, 1839, says, “Within our last quarter, there have been added to the church here 160 white members, and nearly 200 coloured have offered to join I say offered, for we admit none until their owner’s consent has been obtained, and some have not yet brought certificates of this!!! In the quadrennial conference of 1836, the “Reverend” William Winans, who, like his brother, Dr. Capers, avowed himself a slave-holder, said, “I was not born in a slave state. I am a Pennsylvanian by birth. Had been brought up to believe a slaveholder was as great a villain as a horse thief, but he had gone to the south, and a long residence there had changed his views, he had become a slave-holder—a slave-holder on principle. There was suspicion abroad in the south. To obviate such suspicion, and gain free access to the slave, so as to do him good, it was highly advantageous for a minister that he himself should hold slaves; and he could see no impropriety, but advantage, in members, preachers, presiding elders, and even bishops, being slave-holders. Yes, however novel the sentiment may be, however startling it may be to many, I avow this opinion boldly, and without any desire to conceal it—” and the presiding bishop permitted him to avow such abominable sentiments without calling him to order. In a church, thus circumstanced, canst thou fairly or fondly hope to see an increase of coloured members? If thou dost, surely thy expectation is vain. It appears by the minutes of the conference that, in 1835-36, there was a decrease of coloured members of 1877, and in 1839, in the conference of Virginia, there was an increase of one, among a population of coloured people numbering more than 500,000. In Holstein conference there was an increase of twelve, but in those of Kentucky, New York, New England, Michigan, Genesee, Ohio, and Illinois, an actual decrease in each of them; although six of them are in free states. It may with truth be said, that slavery in the south, and oppression and depression of the free coloured people in the north, received from the hands of professed christians and christian professing churches, drives our coloured brethren into the paths of infidelity; the slaveholding “Rev.” Dr. Capers to the contrary notwithstanding, although he be backed by Elijah Hedding, D.D., and a Methodist episcopal bishop; who avers the right to hold a slave is founded on this rule, “Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets!” And Dr. Wilbur Fisk, in a letter to the “Rev.” Timothy Merrit, a good abolitionist, said, “The relation of master and slave may, and does in many cases, subsist under such circumstances as free the master from the just charge of guilt or immorality;” and Fisk, with six other Methodist ministers subscribed their names to, that the “New Testament enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation due to a present rightful authority.” Let me quote the doings of one other conference, that of South Carolina, in 1838, which resolved, “That it (slavery) is not a proper subject for the action of the church.”

I have given thee the doings of associated bodies, and before closing, will give extracts from a letter addressed to the well-known and much-loved George Storrs, a Methodist minister, whose correspondent is also a minister and a physician, of the name of Samuel Heuston, who spent a winter for his health in South Carolina, under date of Utica, State of New York, 11th November, 1837:—

“Question 1st.—Do ministers of the Methodist episcopal church, particularly missionaries, preach the whole word of God to masters and slaves, or are they forbidden by slave-holders to do so? Answer—I am personally acquainted with a missionary on —— mission; he told me that he was forbidden by Dr. ——, a large planter, from preaching to his slaves on sabbath-breaking, for that was the only time they had to cultivate their gardens and to wash their clothes. Question 2nd.—Do ministers and members of the Methodist episcopal church buy and sell slaves for the sake of gain; or do they buy only; and that in cases where it is the evident design to better the condition of the slaves? Answer—I know that members of the Methodist episcopal church sell slaves at auction to the highest bidder; and it is not considered a disciplinary offence. I know of Methodist preachers buying slaves with no apparent design to better their condition, but evidently for the sake of gain. Question 3rd.—How extensively do ministers and members of the Methodist episcopal church hold slaves and trade in them? Answer—I should think nearly one-half, at least, of the ministers of our church hold slaves and trade in them; and nearly all the members who are able to own slaves, not only hold them, but buy and sell them. I know of one official member, Colonel —— that bought in one purchase about 50,000 dollars worth of slaves, and of G. —— Esq., of South Carolina, an official member, who made it a business to buy and sell slaves in lots to suit purchasers; his house is head-quarters for Methodists—a home for the preachers; is a chief man in the church—very benevolent; one instance of which I was an eye-witness: this esquire sold a man away from his wife; she was his cook, and was in great trouble, and went to this

Methodist brother!! her master, and besought him, for God's sake, to sell her with her husband, or to kill her. He would hear nothing, but drove her off to her work. She went about getting dinner, but complained to her mistress, a Methodist sister!! who told her she would make her *feel right*, and had her taken to the jail and flogged fifty lashes on the bare back—"to cool her off," was the language this sister used, who told me how she had her slave *Mary cured*. Yes, cured of mourning over a husband torn from her by the hand of an official member of the Methodist episcopal church! When I expostulated with this sister on the impropriety of separating husband and wife, she hooted at it, and said it would not be long before Mary would have another husband. I attended a large sale of slaves, about 200; numbers of them were members of the Methodist episcopal church: many people were gathered together to attend the sale. It was a time of great festivity—a high-day; several ministers of the Methodist episcopal church were present. The sheriff who had charge of the slaves was a member of the Methodist episcopal church, so was the auctioneer—and not less than a dozen members of the same church bought more or less at this auction.

I could add more to this purport, but I forbear; expressing my hope—my prayer, that so foul a blot may not continue to stain the society of which thou art a member. I desire it on behalf of the oppressor and the oppressed.

Amid this gloomy state of things there is, my brother, a ray of light in the horizon, which I trust will progress until it be resplendent as the meridian sun, and that its light and radiant heat may spread, until the heart of every Methodist be as that of one man, and with their united hands "strike at the root of this complicated villainy" in high places, and may witness the annihilation of "the worst system that ever saw the sun." And why I have this hope in me is, that, for the forwarding so glorious a purpose, in 1838, (and since then further accessions have been made to the anti-slavery band) there were six out of the twenty-eight conferences thoroughly abolitionized; twelve of the twenty-eight were represented at the Methodist Anti-slavery convention, and four others sent communications, making in all sixteen out of twenty-eight. The number of delegates in attendance two hundred. The number of communications received was one hundred and fifty. In conclusion, let me adopt the words of the renowned Thomas Clarkson at the conference held in London, desiring their adaptation to the course which all Methodists everywhere shall take, to clear the Lord's footstool of one of the foulest blots that any people can permit to be affixed to their condition. "Take courage—go on—persevere to the last;" and then you may be permitted to enjoy the legacy of your venerated founder, when about to take his leave of mortality to wear the crown of a saint; in the Redeemer's Kingdom. "The best of all is, God is with us;" and for it so to be, a people must cease to do evil, learn to do well, and each to love his brother, regardless of colour or clime.

Thy friend,
JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

To Joseph Orchard, Hanover Cottage, Snow Hill, Bath.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS.

(From the *Eclectic Review*.)

In an article on the General Anti-Slavery Convention, after quoting the report of the Committee on the employment of British capital in the slave-trade, the reviewer says:—"We know not what our readers may think of these statements; to us they are not afflictive merely, but appalling. On the part of some of the persons thus brought before us, their implication in the support of the slave-trade is known and intentional, and we cannot stop short of pronouncing it directly and deeply criminal. In point of principle, the manufacture for the slave-trade of muskets, manacles, and cottons, differs nothing from the building of ships for the same traffic. The former is done in England, and the latter in America. But how differently do we treat the two cases! To denounce the Baltimore clipper-builders we throw ourselves into a phrenzy of indignation, and exhaust our vocabulary of wonder and invective; while criminals of the very same stamp reputably pursue their callings at Birmingham, Glasgow, and Manchester! The men that do the one of these would do the other if they could. And it is only because it would, by its greater publicity, arouse public indignation, and expose the parties to legal penalties, that slave-ships are not at this hour building in the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Thames! But we go further than this. We affirm that direct participation in the slave-trade is the same in principle with the indirect. A maker of manacles or a lender of money for the slave-trade may revolt at the idea of becoming an actual slave-trader, and, were an opportunity afforded him, he might actually refuse to enter into it; but in point of moral rectitude he might as well do the one as the other. It is in the accidents only, and not in the essentials, that the two things differ. He aids the perpetration of all the crimes and miseries of that atrocious traffic as truly and efficiently as though he were the commander of a slave-ship, or the owner of a barracoon. Than either the one or the other of these abhorred wretches, he has not more principle, but only less audacity. This is the whole difference; and if his own conscience does not speak on this matter, it is time that public indignation should. We hope the abolitionists of the United States will take up this subject. Aye, let the slave-holder of the south and the slave-breeders of the middle states whet their reproofs. Is there no O'Connell among them, who will make the impassioned denunciations which thunder from Great Britain across the Atlantic reverberate with a just and irresistible vehemence against these English slave-traders?

"We have spoken thus severely concerning those persons whose implication in the slave-trade is known and intentional. We do not involve in their guilt those who may not have been hitherto aware of the position they occupy. These are a large and most respectable class, consisting chiefly of the share-holders of

the mining associations operating in Cuba and Brazil, and of the colonial bank. It is high time, however, that these respectable persons were aware of their circumstances. It is an excellent thing to be a share-holder in the Colonial Bank, which pays a large dividend, and the shares of which are rising; but is there not enough in the fact that this institution has a branch at Puerto Rico, and is using efforts to establish one at Havana, to make virtuous persons shrink from partaking of their profits? By such branches they must supply money to slave-traders, and render their capital the direct sinews of the slave-trade. We ask the share-holders, for it is their money, whether this is to their satisfaction, or according to their intention? There are gentlemen, whose names for the present we forbear to mention, of the highest standing in society, not for knowledge of business only, but for benevolence, probity, and religion, in connexion with this institution; and we can tell them that the public is waiting for a decision from them, by which they may wash their hands of such polluted gains, and set an example challenging the imitation of humbler names.

Similar remarks are applicable to the mining associations. Let our readers ponder the appalling fact, that all their mines, both in Cuba and Brazil, are in whole or in part wrought by slaves, and that no less than three thousand three hundred and twenty-five slaves are so employed continually. Hear this! proprietors in foreign mining companies. British noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, ladies, hear this! Your money goes to buy slaves, and work them to death! You are actually purchasers, holders, and masters of more than three thousand slaves! When you took shares in mining companies did you mean this? Do you mean it now? Will you tolerate it? We hope and believe you will not; and most earnestly do we entreat you to take promptly the only steps by which you can wipe away so foul a stain, either from your country or yourselves."

REFUSING CHRISTIAN COMMUNION TO SLAVE-HOLDERS.

[From the *Eclectic Review*.]

UPON this point the *Eclectic* has already taken a stand which we are far from being disposed to relinquish. We are aware, nevertheless, that the sentiments of the religious community are as yet only partially with us, and that both the feelings of pious men and the real difficulties of the question demand a patient and good tempered discussion. Scarcely, we think, in the convention was such a discussion granted. Some of the transatlantic delegates seemed to think that the decisive settlement of the question with them left nothing for English abolitionists but instant and unreasoning—we might almost say uninquiring—acquiescence. The vote was in some danger of being carried by enthusiasm, rather than by conviction, and those who had a question to ask or a doubt to express were rather cried down than satisfied. It may be so that American abolitionists are gone a-head (to use a term of their country) of their British brethren on this point; but a little knowledge of human nature might have taught them that their English associates would have followed much more readily in the wake of their wisdom by being convinced than by being overborne. The old English maxim, however, 'think and let think,' may be better understood on the other side of the Atlantic at a somewhat greater distance from 'the martyr age.' To return to the resolutions, we earnestly hope that they will be considered and ultimately acted on by all christian churches. To the congregational churches in this country, who have a full liberty of action, we more especially commend them. If they will make themselves acquainted with the melancholy and afflictive facts which are now of authentic notoriety, we are sure that they will see a case made out for action, and will be stimulated by an urgent sense of duty to discharge the responsibility which devolves on them. We are not concerned to make out the position that no slave-holder can be a christian. It is not necessary to the consistency of our views that we should do so, nor is it requisite in order to justify the course we recommend. It is enough that slaveholding is a manifest and glaring violation of the laws of Christ, and uniformly tends to the dishonour of his name and the injury of his church. We would therefore deal with the person practising it, as we would with any other individual whose conduct was, in any department, at open variance with the law of Christ. Whatever might be his excellencies, however consistent his conduct in other respects, we would say to him, 'Here is a palpable deviation from the mind of your gracious Lord—a practice which, in our judgment, no sound or scriptural reasoning can reconcile with the honour of your profession. Your slaveholding, therefore, must be abandoned, if you would have us credit the profession you make. With what excellent intentions, or amidst how many excuses, or with what supposed justifications, you may have become or may continue a slave-holder, we ask not; here, in the robbery and oppression of your fellow-man—your fellow-believer it may be—is so monstrous an inconsistency with the spirit and precepts of your Master, that we must bid you keep at a distance from our fellowship till such inconsistency be removed. Repent of and abandon this sin; wash yourself clean from this pollution, and we will then rejoice over you, as in this respect a consistent disciple of our Lord.' The scriptural ground of Christian fellowship is not sincere but consistent piety. The temper and conduct of one who would become a professor of religion, or be recognised as such, should exhibit such a con-

formity with christian precepts as will be conducive to the honour of christianity. We may refer to some directions given in the New Testament in reference to the exclusion of members for an illustration, and we think for a confirmation, of our view. Such are 2 Thess. iii. 6, 12; Rom. xvi. 17, and others. We should be glad if any who may differ with us in the principle would read these passages, and then permit us to propound this question—Whether facts which constitute a valid cause for cutting off a person from christian fellowship would not, if they were known, afford a just ground for refusing admission to it. If this is affirmed, it seems to us to carry the principle we have above expressed. As to the eminently pious and benevolent slave-holders whose actual existence has been so positively asserted by persons who say they know the fact, without affirming the non-existence of these gentlemen and ladies—we are glad it is admitted they are few—we shall content ourselves with saying, that we think their position as slave-holders is one in which a just regard to the honour of christianity should induce them voluntarily to relinquish the profession of it. Involved as they are—involuntarily, or even against their will, as is alleged—in the support of a system so unrighteous as slavery is at the best, and so atrocious as American slavery is in fact, they should not wait to be told by their brethren of any church, we cannot hold christian fellowship with you. They should anticipate this step, and say once for all, we will never solicit christian fellowship till we can wash our hands of slavery.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We trust Mr. Haughton will excuse the insertion of his letter.

Such of our friends as may possess either No. 4, or No. 13 of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will greatly oblige the Committee by returning them to 27, New Broad Street, London.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, AUGUST 12TH.

A West India mail arrived on Monday. We learn by it that the judicial investigation at Falmouth, Jamaica, of what has been so wantonly termed the Baptist insurrection, has issued in the committal of nine persons to answer "any indictment which may be preferred" against them, and the binding over of Mr. Robinson to a similar effect. As to the Rev. T. E. Ward, his "attendance was not any further required"—that is to say, after all the hard swearing of witnesses, the exultations of the planter-press, and the high expectations of the pro-slavery party, the attorney-general could find no ground for an indictment against him. The papers give an interesting account of the opening of Sligoville, a free-village in the neighbourhood of Spanish town. The affair was one of great ceremony, and, what is better, of great promise. The abolitionists will have a lasting memorial, after all; for in this rising town are not only Victoria Road, Mulgrave Street, and Lionel Circus, but Sturge Street, Harvey Street, Brougham Street, Thompson Street, Scoble Street, &c. &c. We rejoice to know, that the peasantry are working the free-village system vigorously. Let them go on. It is the security of their liberty, and the regeneration of Jamaica.

From our intelligence we select a letter from the Rev. S. Oughton to Mr. Sturge, in our extracts from which general intelligence will be found blended with the details of his continued sufferings.

Kingston Gaol, June 26, 1840.

I EXPECTED when I last wrote, that long ere this, my deliverance would have been obtained and I restored to my family and church; it appears however that I did not rightly calculate the extent of colonial malice, or how far prejudice and party feeling could be permitted to interfere with the claims of humanity, or even the principles of truth and justice—but on these matters I am becoming wiser every day, for painful experience is my schoolmaster.

On the day fixed for hearing my argument to quash the writ, no court was held, as a sufficient number of judges could not be induced to attend to constitute a bench; the same thing happened the two following days, and when at last the court sat, and day after day applications were made by my counsel, and the peculiar circumstances of my case and the injury sustained by my congregation enforced—every excuse possible was resorted to for delay, until at length, on the last day but one, the judge decided that it could not be attended to this court; thus leaving me suffering a cruel and illegal confinement, without hope of redress. The whole of this is to be attributed to the conduct of that most selfish of all selfish men, and most prejudiced of all partisans, Sir Joshua Rowse, who, in order to advance his own personal interests, and to aid the designs of that party, of which he is at once the leader and the slave, left this island for England about two months ago, although he knew that the administration of justice would thereby be severely crippled, if not entirely suspended. A contemptible squabble for precedence among the judges, joined to a hearty dislike to Mr. Bernard (the acting chief) for his political sentiments, have set them so together by the ears, that during last court four days were lost, and in consequence not one civil case was heard, and even the gaol delivery was not completed—while jury-men and witnesses were detained at a ruinous expense, without having their business attended to at last.

"I understand that the objects of his mission to England are twofold—first, the passing of the *Judicial Bill*, by which he hopes to be made Vice Chancellor, and to obtain the appointment of Middleton, Edwards, and a chosen knot of his own class, to be judges, (for none others will

possess the qualification, viz.—*five years practice at the JAMAICA BAR*)—thus, he calculates on strengthening his party, increasing his influence, and doubling his salary, while it would considerably diminish his labour. Three excellent reasons for a proud, avaricious, and intoleraably lazy man. The other object is the entire removal of the stipendiary magistrates, to whom he has been long known to be a determined enemy. I have no doubt but a few attacks on, or misrepresentation of, the Baptist missionaries will be included in his budget, and not unlikely some attempt to alter the election laws, and deprive the people of the right of a voice in the representation: these, however, will not be openly attacked, but carried on by secret misrepresentation and influence; indeed Sir Joshua is not the man to face a foe openly, he loves to cover his designs with darkness, and work his mischief in secret places.

I have stated thus much, in order that you may know the man you have to deal with, and act accordingly. I do hope that the people of England will not be deceived by his plausibility, or cunning; already he has proved himself adverse to the interests of the people, and I hope that, if nothing more can be done, at least his opportunity and ability for mischief may not be increased.

The pro-slavery party here are measureless in their wrath with Lord J. Russell, for his celebrated dispatch to Governor Light; they cannot for a moment tolerate his views of *prosperity*, and the papers, therefore, are full to overflowing with their low scurrility and abuse.

I have made every attempt in my power to obtain my release but without effect. I have offered bail to any amount, but it has been refused. I have made inquiries for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, but it cannot be granted. There are now but three courses left for me: either to pay the money, upwards of £3000, or to remain in prison until either the argument to quash be settled, or the suit in "error" be determined, or taking the benefit of the *Insolvent Law*. The first I am neither able nor willing to do. No; rather than acknowledge the validity of that shameful verdict by paying one shilling, I will remain in gaol until carried out in my coffin. The second would involve not less than four, and most likely eight, or even twelve months imprisonment, to the sacrifice of my dear wife and children, the ruin of my health if not the destruction of my life, and the neglect of a church of six thousand persons, who would be thus deprived of pastoral superintendence and care. I have, then, only the last to which I can resort, and have determined on adopting it, so that this week the Jamaica papers present the unprecedented circumstance of a Baptist missionary advertised as an *Insolvent Debtor*. This will involve at least four weeks imprisonment, and I have already been confined a month. This is a most serious evil to my people, and a most painful circumstance to myself. It has also greatly injured my health, and Mrs. O is suffering from the anxiety and great additional exertion it demands from her. Still a great principle is involved, and the conviction that I am suffering for righteousness' sake supports my mind amidst all our trials.

Up to the present time I have experienced much kindness from the officers of the prison, but since my advertisement a different state of things is observable. Hitherto my people have been admitted on Sundays, between the services, in large numbers to see me, and I have conducted a short service; but yesterday morning Mr. Lindo, the deputy marshal, stated that he had been directed by the provost marshal, and from the *king's house*, to allow this no longer, and in future not more than six persons at one time can be admitted. I have sent Sir Charles Metcalfe a strong remonstrance and urgent request that unlimited access may be permitted, but have not yet received an answer. This I expect will be but the beginning.

THE resolutions of the General Anti-slavery convention respecting the refusal of religious communion to slave-holders have been submitted to the Methodist conference; and Mr. Tredgold has received from the president and secretary of that body an official reply, which we insert below.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, August 7th, 1840.

SIR,—Dr. Bunting has this day brought under the consideration of the Wesleyan conference now assembled the letter which you addressed to him on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, and the accompanying resolutions of the Anti-slavery convention lately held in London.

In respectfully acknowledging the receipt of these communications, we are directed to assure you of the entire and hearty concurrence of all the Wesleyan ministers in this country in the sentiment of the convention's first resolution, which denounces "slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists," as "contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of christianity," and as "therefore a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed."

To these great principles the British conference have always been intensely anxious to give the fullest possible effect, by suitable disciplinary regulations and otherwise, wherever they have ecclesiastical authority; and they are thankful that it has been in their power to contribute, in various ways, their share both of public testimony and practical effort, for the purpose of securing to them that triumphant operation which they have now generally obtained in the colonies of the British empire.

The conference have long felt, and still deeply feel, that it is their solemn duty to use to the uttermost any influence which they may possess for the attainment of the same momentous object in other countries, where, though they have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever, their persevering and faithful expression of their unalterable feelings and convictions on the subject may prove of any beneficial effect.

The conference most earnestly pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend the christian endeavours of your society, and of other kindred institutions.

Signed on behalf and by order of the conference,

ROBERT NEWTON, President.

JOHN HANNAH, Secretary.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

We are pleased to observe that the General anti-slavery convention is promptly and kindly noticed in the *Eclectic Review* for the present month. Two extracts from it we have given in preceding columns; and we shall here make a third quotation, containing

the reviewer's remarks on the general character of the convention.

We shall now express in a few words our general view of the character and influence of this unprecedented and remarkable assemblage. We have not called it remarkable because it has sprung from concealed or unsuspected causes, or because it has in any way taken us by surprise. It has been the natural expression of the anti-slavery feeling as it is now diffused through the nations. The world was ripe for it. It was held just when it ought to have been held, and it was just what it ought to have been. It was not in the nature of things that such a gathering together of between four and five hundred men to a free expression of their sentiments should not disclose some marked and tenacious differences; and such in fact did appear, as another article in our present number will show: but upon anti-slavery questions, and more especially upon all the great principles involved in them, there was a marked and striking unanimity. Neither was it in the nature of things that such multifarious and complicated business should be arranged and conducted by a few untrained though diligent and upright men, without some indications of fallibility; but as a whole their arrangements were eminently wise and successful, and the issue has afforded much reason to believe that the spirit of prayer in which the scheme was undertaken has been influential in bringing down on it a divine benediction. Nor should the kindness of Providence be unacknowledged, by which (with one painful exception which we need not here detail) the lives, safety, and health of so many persons, in such various journeys, and in not a few instances in such lengthened voyages, have been mercifully preserved.

The moral influence of the convention must be great. Its unquestionable disinterestedness and purity of motive attach power, and even majesty to it. It has tampered with no selfish, political, or party object. It has not in a single instance turned aside from the simplicity of its design. It has uttered its voice in the ear of princes, and they will listen to it. It has spoken to the churches of Christ, and many of them will hearken. It has declared its sentiments in the hearing of the world; and all that is benevolent and virtuous—the heart of the world, will respond to its call. It has collected treasures of information, which will shortly be spread out before the public eye, and will be made to penetrate into countries yet unawakened, with the effect of sunbeams on a region of darkness. It has told the universal slaveocracy that their doom is sealed, that the hostility to slavery is invincible, and that its existence is reduced to a mere question of time. It has given augmented energy, and—what is still better—it has given combination to anti-slavery effort. It cannot be long before its fruits appear.

We have received a short poem by Miss Emily Capadose, entitled, *Jamaica and her children*. It breathes an excellent spirit, and is adapted to diffuse the spirit which it breathes. It consists of thirty stanzas, is comprised in sixteen octavo pages, and concludes with a compliment to his royal highness, Prince Albert. The following lines are a favourable specimen.

On, Britons, on! a glorious goal
Bids all your holiest ardours glow.
On, Britons, on! the immortal soul
Of millions is your load-star now.
O! ye have fought for Freedom oft,
Have traced her over land and wave:
Yours is the standard where aloft
Her wings have closed around the brave:
Yours is the home where she hath rested,
Only a visitant elsewhere.
Yours is the heart where she is vested
With all you love as good and fair.—p. 13

Home News.

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE CASE OF THE REV. S. OUGHTON.

To the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD.—I am directed by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to call your attention, in the most earnest manner, to the condition of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, now confined as a debtor in Kingston jail, by virtue of judgment entered up against him, on a verdict for damages and costs in the action of Grant *versus* Oughton. Without entering into the particulars of this case, of which the committee are assured that you are well informed, they respectfully represent to your lordship, that, under cover of law, it is a case of manifest malice on the part of the prosecutor, and of flagrant injustice on the part of the jury; that Mr. Oughton is suffering without fault, and, so far as his adversaries are concerned, without hope; that the policy pursued towards him is to obstruct the progress of his cause, and thus to occasion a long imprisonment, beneath which, in such a climate, and with such wretched accommodations, there is a high probability his health must speedily fail; and that the life of this worthy, and unoffending minister of the gospel will be sacrificed to the malice of his unrelenting enemies. It is not for the committee to dictate the measures which may be adopted by her Majesty's government on such an occasion; but they cannot acquit themselves of their duty, without strongly expressing to your lordship their conviction, that the emergency is sufficiently critical and important to deserve the most serious attention; and adding their earnest entreaty, that, on behalf of her Majesty's government, your lordship will, in whatever method and to whatever extent it may be found possible, interpose your high authority, in the most prompt and vigorous manner, to prevent the consummation of this legal murder. The proceedings are already creating much indignation in the public mind; and we are sure that no act would be more acceptable or gratifying to the community, than that which the committee most respectfully, but most earnestly, solicit at your hands.

I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, 1st August, 1840.

DOWNING STREET, 6th August, 1840.

Sir,—I am directed by Lord John Russell, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, requesting, by desire of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, his lordship's attention to the case of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, a Baptist missionary in Jamaica; and I am to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the committee, that, before the receipt of your letter, his lordship had addressed the governor of Jamaica on the subject, in order that steps might be taken, to the utmost extent of the very limited authority of the executive government in cases of civil actions, to promote the investigation of truth and the effectual administration of justice in this case.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) R. VERNON SMITH.
J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq.

MEMORIAL OF THE BIRMINGHAM BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

The Memorial of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, forwarded by their committee, by direction of the great public annual meeting, held at the Town-hall, Birmingham, July 26th, 1840, Sir J. E. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., M.P., being in the chair;

Respectfully Sheweth,

That, since the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies, the local legislatures of several of those islands have enacted laws, whose obvious tendency is to revive that system for the extinction of which the British parliament voted to the planters the enormous sum of twenty millions sterling.

That these laws are now in operation in the island of Jamaica and elsewhere.

That your lordship's government, is by a series of acts and declarations, as well as by the legislation of our country, solemnly pledged to the cause of freedom.

That it is the duty of the governor of every British colony to adopt such measures in his administration as shall uphold the principles of the government which he represents.

That any colonial governor is therefore guilty of a gross dereliction of duty, who does not immediately disallow, in the exercise of his constitutional right, laws which, while depriving the great experiment of emancipation of its proper results, powerfully tend to paralyse agricultural industry, and diffuse universal discontent, and endanger the ruin of the colonies, by rendering their inhabitants first sullen and dispirited, then rebellious.

That your memorialists learn with the deepest possible regret, that, on receiving official notice of the enactment of these laws, and that the colonial governor had sanctioned them, your lordship has not thought proper to direct their immediate disallowance.

That your memorialists earnestly entreat your lordship to disallow those laws of Jamaica and other colonies to which reference has been made; and in order for the future to guard against similar proceedings, immediately to bring a measure before parliament, providing that no laws adopted by any colonial legislature shall have operation till they have been confirmed by a competent tribunal in England.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

JAMES WATKINS SEWARD.—(From a late number of the *Emancipator*.—James Watkins Seward is a native of Whitesboro', Oneida county, and has been for the last fifteen years a citizen of Oswego county, residing in the vicinity of Fulton, and known to thousands of our citizens as a very intelligent, respectable, virtuous, and enterprising young coloured man. His parents and a large circle of relatives are now industrious and reputable inhabitants of this county. A few months since he went to Ohio, for the purpose of finding employment as a teacher among the coloured people in the vicinity of Cincinnati, or in default thereof, of engaging in such other business as he might obtain. He took with him respectable testimonials of his character and abilities. He was cautioned against the danger of exposing himself on the borders of the slave-states. Trusting to his superior knowledge and acquirements, he replied, "There is no danger to a man who understands himself." Little did he know of slavery, or dream that the subjugation of a superior man of the "hated hue" is an object of no ordinary moment in her estimation, and that, so far from finding his cultivated mind a defence against the rapacity of the oppressor, it would prove an incentive to his more eager and determined grasp.

His friends have heard nothing from him until the last week. A letter has now been received from M. M. Robinson, Esq., attorney-at-law, of the city of New Orleans, containing a postscript from James himself, and also another letter from Reverend T. S. Wright, of New York—from all which they learn, that being the last autumn engaged as a steward, or, in some other capacity, on board a steamboat from Cincinnati—he visited New Orleans. As he was going on board the boat to return, early in the evening, he was arrested by the guards as a fugitive slave. His acquaintances on the boat appeared before the recorder, and testified to his freedom. His letters were presented, but all of no avail—he was thrust into jail on the 15th day of last December. There he has remained ever since, labouring on the public streets in a chained gang during the day, and lying in a dismal, filthy, negro-prison during the night; and there he must remain, according to the laws of republican America, until he can bring actual proof that he was born free, and pay his jail fees, or until, in default of such proof and payment—he be sold into slavery for life, to pay his "jail fees."

Mr. Robinson wrote in his behalf on the 6th of March, requesting to be furnished with the only proof of his freedom that can be admissible—to wit, the exemplified certificate of the court in which his freedom is recorded. He writes also for one hundred dollars to pay the jail fees and expenses; as though the citizens in the state of New York held their freedom by so frail a tenure as the decisions and records of her courts,

and not by inalienable birth-right. Such proof, the very mention of which is an outrage on the name of liberty, of course cannot be furnished—and as to the hundred dollars, the day has gone by when the freemen of New York will submit to purchase their liberty with money. Time has been when all civilised nations paid tribute to the Barbary powers, and meanly submitted to ransom with gold their own citizens from Algerine and Tunisian bondage. Our nation in its very infancy resisted these piratical claims, humbled the power of the corsairs, and obtained for our people a lasting immunity against such barbarous claims. And shall the citizens of these free states, in the year 1840, quietly submit to such monstrous demands from the authorities of a sister state? It cannot be. Affidavits of the free birth and citizenship, and good character of Seward, have been transmitted to the governor of this state, accompanied by a memorial signed by a large number of the most respectable citizens of Oswego county, requesting his official interposition with the government of Louisiana, to obtain the release of our fellow-citizen without the degrading condition of a ransom. A similar case occurred during the administration of De Witt Clinton, and his requisition was instantly and unconditionally complied with. Such occurrences, bringing into collision the principles of liberty with those of slavery, are becoming so frequent in our country, as to convince the reflective mind that institutions so antagonistical in their nature cannot much longer subsist together.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS wished to make a few observations upon two of the resolutions, which related to the East Indies—the sixth and seventh. It appeared to him the meeting could not discuss a more important topic in regard to slavery in general, than the success of the efforts now making in this country to encourage free cotton in India, and to fill the markets of Great Britain with that article. He thought the most beneficial effect would follow such a scheme. Every arm ought to be stretched out, and the whole phalanx of veteran abolitionists ought to rally round that last hope of putting an end to slavery in the world. In regard to America, it was matter of history that the main prop of the slave-system was cotton. When the revolution ended, slave-property had become of little value. The introduction of cotton had not then taken place for agricultural purposes. At that time was enacted the celebrated ordinance of 1787, drawn by Thomas Jefferson, prohibiting slavery in all the vast territory which lies to the north-west of the Ohio. In the course of a few years cotton was introduced—it's culture became successful—the price of slaves rose. At this time the territories now forming the states of Mississippi, and Alabama, and that of Louisiana, were added to the Union. Mark the difference. None dared to propose the prohibition of slavery as in 1787. Again, in the northern slave-holding states, Virginia, Delaware, and what are called the slave-breeding states, after the year 1820, and down to the sitting of the Virginia convention, the slaves in these states again fell in value—cotton not being much cultivated there. Things got to such a state that John Randolph prophesied the time would soon come when the master would be anxious to run away from his slave, and not the slave from his master. At that time an attempt was made to put an end to slavery in Virginia, because slaves were not a good article in the market. But now, since the foundation of new states and the extension of cotton-planting had given rise to and rendered profitable the *internal slave-trade*, the slave-breeding states were as firm as any other in asserting the divine importance and the excellence of slave institutions. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) When the price of cotton was high in the Liverpool market, then it was said slavery was sanctioned by the scriptures; but when the price was low, then the ears of the southern planters were open to argument. (Laughter.) Some abolitionists in this country complained that they very seldom saw papers from the Union, and that they did not know the state of the anti-slavery enterprise. Let them step to Liverpool, and see the price of cotton, and they would then know how fierce the opposition was which the friends of the slave had to meet. It had been asserted by an intelligent writer, that the attachment of the states to slavery had been all along in proportion to the price of cotton in the market. The legitimate inference from these facts was, that if they could put into the market an article that would drive American cotton out, they would uproot the firmest foundations of the slave-system in America. Another point he wished to press on the attention of the meeting was in regard to the connexion between the northern and the southern states. The whole north was intimately bound to and connected with the south, and it was not till they severed the north from that dependence, that they would be able to address it and be heard with effect. It was his conviction that the success of the enterprise in regard to East India cotton, had bound up with it the death-warrant of slavery, and that the death-warrant of that system would be signed in Liverpool. (Cheers.)

MR. JOSEPH SAMS said this subject appeared to him to be the most important that could possibly engage the attention of the assembly. He believed there were upwards of three millions of slaves in America, and he would suggest a tangible mode of utterly destroying that dominion of slavery in America. In British India there were large tracts of land capable of producing excellent cotton in abundance, and furnishing an ample supply for the wants of this great commercial empire. In bringing those tracts into cultivation they would produce a double benefit, for a large number of their fellow-subjects in British India were at present greatly distressed for want of employment, and thus they might be enabled to obtain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families, and at the same time supply the markets at Manchester and Liverpool with cotton of a good quality. (Hear, hear.)

REV. HOWARD HINTON begged to read an extract from the speech of Mr. William E. Gladstone in parliament on the 30th of March, 1838. He said, "If the facts were thoroughly investigated, it could be shown that the British manufactures were actually the most effectual encouragers, not only of slavery, but of the slave-trade itself. By what means was the slave-trade with the Brazils carried on? By British manufactures directly imported from this country. The British manufacturer sent his cotton goods to the Brazils; these were immediately shipped off from the Brazils to the coast of Africa, and were there exchanged for human ware, which the Brazilian trader brought back. (Hear, hear.) You (said the

hon. gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—you, who cannot wait twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free—are you aware what responsibility lies upon every one of you at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are three millions of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution, which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be eternal slavery? Is it not the demand that creates the supply? and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave-labour annually, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labour; and that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free-labour." They would be fools indeed if they did not take a lesson from that speech. (Hear, hear.)

THE REV. N. COLVER, of Boston, begged to read an extract from a South Carolina paper on the subject of the "Cotton Circular" of some of the planter politicians of the south and west. The plan proposed by the circular to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption that the cotton planters as a class *are debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent in regard to the planters of the south-west, but maintains that there is also a large class in the south who are not in debt, and stand in no need of bank advances to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He inquires somewhat significantly whether a combination to *keep up* the price of cotton would not almost necessarily produce combinations to *keep it down*, and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain to *encourage and foster the production of cotton out of the United States*, and beyond the reach of such combinations of banks and bankers as are contemplated in the Cotton Circular. The concluding portion of the article was worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints as to the *great obstacle* now in the way of their object.

"The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from banks—his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of heaven he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family—a weed destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton. It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, our intelligence! and commands the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt; the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort from the belief that he has washed away his sins; the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Brahma from its unfolded flowers; but a genuine *slave-holder in South Carolina* will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his power and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and *fanatical fury* of modern society. If he expects to preserve the *peculiar institutions* of his country, and transmit them to posterity, he must teach his children to hold the *cotton plant in one hand and the sword in the other*, ever ready to defend it.

A COTTON PLANTER."

It appeared to him, as far as human means were concerned, that the proposition of growing cotton in the East Indies was the only effectual remedy for slavery. (Hear, hear.) As long as the cotton growers made their speculations profitable, they might as well talk to the idle wind as talk to them of slavery and religion. But touch them in the pocket, and they would touch the slave-holder's conscience, for it had long since lost its lodgment in his heart. (Hear, hear.) They ought not therefore, as true abolitionists, to cease to wield those instruments which God had put into their hands. When he first read the lectures of George Thompson, a dawn of light came upon him, and he said if Great Britain would turn her energies to the East Indies, and produce cotton—then the slave-holders of America must yield.

THE CHAIRMAN, before the discussion proceeded further, wished to state an opinion which he had gained from his residence in the cotton-growing states. He was of opinion that the planter could not afford to raise cotton under 9 cents per pound, or 5d. currency. He doubted not that there was a favourable opinion to their cause among the great mass of the small slave-holders, but they were prevented from giving free scope to their opinion, on account of the combined influence of the large slave-holders.

REV. MR. KEEP, of the Oberlin institution, rather regretted that this subject should be considered so much in a commercial point of view, because it was as a moral and religious question primarily, that the cause of the abolition of slavery was taken up in the United States.

MR. STANFIELD, of Belfast, thought there was as much sin in purchasing cotton, the produce of labour by iniquitous means, as there was in purchasing goods from a man who it was known had stolen them. —(Cheers.)

MR. JAMES I. PRICE of Neath, observed that, as several Americans had appeared to him to speak in favour of the advancement of British commerce with India, it might be interpreted by some that they wished to do so to the disadvantage of American commerce. He thought these observations were only to be interpreted as a warning voice to the Americans to engage free labour, in order to deter the British from that course which was otherwise open to their enterprise. (Hear, hear.)

THE HONOURABLE SETH SPRAGUE, of Massachusetts, said,—Standing there as an American citizen, he could not refrain from stating his opinion. If they interfered with the interests of the American people or the slave-holder, was it to be supposed they would sit idle and see their profits taken away without any attempt to counteract it? The chairman knew very well the contest that had been going on upon the subject of the tariff, and the protection to American industry. If it could be proved to demonstration to the American people that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, the work would be done. Another view of the subject he took, was that the American people would not give the English credit for philanthropy if they superseded them in raising cotton. There was a deep tone of religious feeling in the American States upon this subject

and no doubt the controversy would go on, for it was a principle of the abolitionists in America never to surrender or give up.

Mr. STANTON.—With regard to the observation of the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, as to the very little credit Great Britain would get on the score of philanthropy for encouraging the growth of cotton in her own possessions, to the exclusion ultimately of American, he begged to observe that honesty was the best policy. It was politic for Great Britain to be honest, and she could not be honest so long as she paid thirteen millions sterling every year for slave cotton. (Hear.) His opinion was, that the abolition of slavery in America was of vital importance to the existence of her free institutions. If they did not abolish slavery, slavery would abolish the most splendid fabric of government. (Cheers.) There was one way in which they would be able to touch America—that was by showing them that free-labour was more valuable than slave-labour. (Hear, hear.) They also must touch America through the pockets of her slave-owners. The main feature of their trade, the main corner-stone of their prosperity, was not of granite or of Portland stone—it was a cotton bale—that was the staple article of their commerce. It was that trade that furnished the American slave-holder with the *sine qua non* for carrying on his projects. It was not as in England, that the banker, the merchant, or the grower of the produce in America, looked at the price of stocks, or of the precious metals, to regulate him in his dealings; no he looked at the price of cotton, that regulated him in all his dealings. In 1832, when Nathaniel Turner, with a few misguided followers, overran two or three states, and excited insurrection among the negroes, the legislature of Virginia took the slave-trade into their serious consideration, and sentiments were there expressed that would do honour to any one in that assembly. While they were in session, news arrived from Liverpool, that cotton had risen 33½ per cent; the consequence was that fields hitherto out of cultivation were suddenly brought into cotton plantations, and a mighty impetus was given to the internal slave-trade, and those in Virginia who had a week before been rampant abolitionists, then found that a canal had been opened to drain off that population which had begun to cause them considerable uneasiness, and the internal slave-trade became an important though disgusting feature in the trade between the northern and the southern states. Again, it was the Manchester manufacturers who drove George Thompson out of America, and nearly sacrificed his valuable life, by their demand for cotton in 1835, and its consequent rise in price. The slave-holder in America, however, was well aware that the public sentiment of the world was against him, that the literature, and the religion of the world was against him—(Cheers)—that the mighty genius of reform was against him—(Loud cheers)—but, when he had a full pocket and an empty conscience, he would defy any and every genius. (Cheers and laughter.) Why, in 1837, were the slaveholders obliged to send their slaves to fishing in order to obtain a living?—it was because cotton suddenly fell in price. In that year, he remembered a caricature in New York, giving a black preacher's sermon, and he was made to say, "Merchants is flat, bankers is flat, niggers is flat." It should have been "cotton is flat," and then an American well knew that all the rest must follow. The internal slave-trade was of a most horrible nature, it was not exceeded in atrocity by the African slave-trade in its palmiest days. The fields of the south committed the most dreadful havoc in the ranks of the slaves—the victims did not fall short of 100,000 a year. He would read one or two extracts from slave papers. The *Virginia Times*, (a weekly newspaper, published at Wheeling, Virginia, and one of good repute,) estimates in 1836, the number of slaves exported from that state alone, during the twelve months preceding, at 40,000, the aggregate value of whom is computed at twenty-four millions of dollars. The *Natchez* (Mississippi), *Courier* says, that the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported 250,000 slaves from the northern states, in the year 1836. This seems absolutely incredible, but it probably includes all the slaves introduced by the immigration of their masters. The following from the *Virginia Times*, confirms this supposition. In the same paragraph which is referred to under the second query, it is said—"We have heard intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last twelve months, at 120,000, each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported not more than one-third have been sold, the others having been carried by their masters, who have removed." Perhaps that might be a little exaggerated.

The CHAIRMAN said, although the extract was from a slave-holding editor, still it was very much exaggerated.

Mr. STANTON thought himself that it was exaggerated, but it was data given them by their enemies, and they had no other. The degree to which Virginia was implicated in this trade, might be inferred from the open avowal of her own statesmen. In the legislature of that state in 1832, Thomas Jefferson Randolph declared that "Virginia had been converted into one great menagerie, where men are reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles." The Honourable Charles Fenton Mercer, (a member of congress from Virginia since 1817,) asserted in the Virginia convention of 1829—"The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the common wealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a million and a half of dollars is derived from the exportation of a part of this population."

Mr. THOMAS CAMPBELL, the author of "Wyoming," here entered the room, and was received with tremendous shouting. The speaker at once gave way to him, and the poet said—Mr. president, and friends of this great cause, it does give me not a disagreeable, but a great deal of surprise, to find that my humble presence can be considered as an accession to this most respectable and glorious convention. (Cheers.) There is nothing we can more complacently forgive than our neighbour's over estimating our own good qualities. But, my friends, in this sacred cause, why should I speak of the importance or the non-importance of this or that man with regard to carrying out the cause? If, to-morrow, the people were called upon to go out and fight in defence of our beloved country, what would it avail a man to say, I cannot go, for I am but a small and a weak man, let the tall and strong grenadiers go out and fight the battle? Would it not at once be said to him, "If your arm is weak, let greater zeal nerve you." (Loud cheers.) I feel myself as sacredly bound to devote myself to the cause, as if, Americans, I had been your Channing; or Englishmen, I were gifted with the eloquence of our O'Connell.

(Cheers.) I am rejoiced to see so many men here from America—it does my heart good to see you. I have also a sort of message for you to carry across the water. I consider myself bound, not only as a man, but peculiarly bound as a man of letters, to be a friend to the Anti-slavery association. (Cheers.) Freedom!—I know not whether to call it the parent or the child of the press, but certain it is that blissful freedom lives, and moves, and has its being in the liberty of the press. (Cheers.) The press of this country is a very good press in many respects, but it has not done its full duty with respect to this question; but, Americans, I tell you frankly if we are defective in that respect, you are much more so. (Cheers.) I must, of course, be understood to make some splendid exceptions, and no one can hear me without having his recollection called to Channing. (cheers) but, generally speaking, the literary men of America, have shirked the question. If there be a diversity of opinion upon the subject of slavery among the literary men of America, if any of them will come forward and prove the blessings of slavery, let him do so, but do not let him shirk the question. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. STANTON, on resuming, paid a high compliment to Mr. Campbell, whose writings had struck terror into the hearts of the slave-owners, he said, on his side of the water. As he had before stated, the north was dependent on the south for taking their produce, and therefore did not like to stir for fear of offending a good customer; but cotton being the staple article of produce, when George Thompson took up the question of East India cotton, he put his finger on the very sore and tender part of slavery. (Cheers.)

Mr. MOORE dwelt strongly on the advantages of encouraging the growth of cotton in India.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON also forcibly and eloquently demonstrated the great effect this would have in putting down American slavery; and he said it was an error not to think this really a moral measure—discontinuing to consume slave-produce. Was not that a great and influential moral measure—(cheers)—founded on the scriptural principle, "Cease to do evil—learn to do well?" (Cheers.)

On the suggestion of Messrs. STURGE and ALEXANDER, the resolutions were so far altered as not to attach to India exclusively; and also, instead of expressing a certainty that the measure set forth would utterly abolish—that it would tend greatly to the abolition of slavery.

The convention then adjourned till four o'clock.

The convention re-assembled at four o'clock, when Mr. BIRNEY took the chair.

Dr. BOWRING informed the meeting that he had been charged by the committee to propose to the convention two addresses relating to slavery in the Mohamedan states. He believed that the publication of the principles set forth in the addresses would be attended with great and magnificent results, on which he would say a few words before he read the addresses. It was known that the cultivation and manufacture of cotton had only lately been introduced into Egypt, although it was well known that the cotton plant was indigenous in that country, and the manufacture was practised there many ages ago. He himself took once from the mummy of a child, with his own hands, a piece of cotton cloth in which it was swathed; and it was a fact that, when the viceroy was lately making a journey up the Blue Nile, he found in the forests vast quantities of the cotton plant growing wild. (Hear.) Now in Egypt the wages of agricultural labourers were not more than 2½d per day; and (as we understood the learned gentleman,) the cultivation of the cotton plant might be made to give abundant employment to that population, and to supply sufficient for the demands of Europe, without recourse being had to the produce of slave-labour. If there were in the districts of the slave hunts in Africa confusion and disquiet, misery and desolation, slavery was the cause. (Hear, hear.) It was delightful to him to see in that convention the interest which was manifested for the different races of mankind, and to observe that every member of that body had some portion of his fellow-creatures committed to his charge. (Hear, hear.) For his part, he felt himself impelled to look with some degree of interest upon the races of Eastern Africa, amongst whom it had been his lot to dwell. (Hear, hear.) He could not forget their bright eyes, their dancing hearts, and musical voices: nor could he help feeling that the meeting which he was addressing could diminish what portion of misery those people were subjected to. He was sure that if the convention could effect what he aimed at, and could prove to the eastern princes, (as it was capable of being proved,) that they had a deep interest in the overthrow of slavery—if it could assure them that their own prosperity was closely connected with the liberty of the negro—a vast deal would be effected towards the complete attainment of the grand object of the convention. (Hear.) He would with these views move two resolutions, upon which the addresses—one to Lord Palmerston, and the other to the Pacha of Egypt—were to be founded. The first resolution was to this effect:

That the present moment, when the European powers are exercising so great an influence in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, is peculiarly favourable to their intervention for the suppression of slavery in the regions of the East; and that a memorial be presented to Lord Viscount Palmerston, entreating his lordship's assistance in obtaining such declarations from the Sultan as may be likely to lead to the entire suppression of slavery in the countries subject to the Sultan's government.

In reference to the address to the Pacha of Egypt, he should have to move the following resolution:—

"That this meeting has learnt with deep interest the measures adopted by the viceroy of Egypt for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his Royal Highness's troops, and especially the declaration of his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world hail with delight every step taken by the viceroy in furtherance of his just and generous purposes, whether by impeding the importation of and traffic in slaves—by the encouragement of agricultural productions in central and eastern Africa, by the abolition of the slave-market in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves and the entire overthrow of slavery."

Mr. GEORGE STACEY expressed some doubt that the convention could agree to such words as that they looked to strengthening the foundation of the Ottoman empire.

Dr. BOWRING explained that the words had no reference to any question of religion. (Hear, hear.)

The Reverend J. BURNETT could not see any objection to strengthening the foundation of the Ottoman empire. (Hear.) That convention had no objects which could be attained by the overthrow of any empire. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, they could never be friendly to such revolution which could only be effected by bloodshed and other evils. (Hear, hear.) The address expressed a desire only to see the empire strengthened in its foundation by the amelioration of its civil institutions. (Hear, hear.)

The resolutions and addresses founded on them were then put and carried amidst applause.

DISUSE OF SLAVE-PRODUCE.

Captain STUART moved the following resolution:—

That this association earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity and religion, everywhere, to disuse slave-labour produce, and instead of it to use free-labour produce, as far as practicable." In the first place, they ought to disuse slave-labour produce, because by using it they more directly and effectually than by any other means supported slavery, and mingled with their superfluities the blood of the slave. (Applause.) They should use free-labour produce instead of it, because thereby whilst they honestly pleased themselves, they administered in the most beneficial manner to the wants of the industrious poor; and he said that those two recommendations should be acted on as far as practicable, because he was persuaded that duty in this matter required only what was practicable without sacrificing either life or health.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. BURNET thought that the words "as far as practicable" gave too great a latitude to persons of easy conscience in this matter. He believed that few of the slave-owners themselves could be found that would not say that they were desirous of disowning slavery "as far as practicable." But if the matter was left to them, their impracticabilities would be very numerous. (Hear, hear.) He suggested that the words "as far as practicable" be omitted.

Mr. G. BENNET supported the resolution as it stood. He thought it should be left to every person's conscience to decide how far it was practicable to act upon the recommendation.

Colonel MILLER thought it was his duty to state to the committee that there were thousands in America who used not, handled not, touched not anything produced by slave-labour. (Applause.) His family had for many years used maple sugar at ten cents. per pound, when they could purchase New Orleans sugar at five cents. (Applause.) He was talking to a slave-owner the other day, and told him that the abolitionists would starve the slave-owners out. (Much applause.)

Mr. FULLER said he believed there were hundreds more in America who abstained from the produce of slave-labour than in England. (Hear.) He looked upon the receiver as quite as bad as the thief; and it was on that principle he expressed his regret the other day at seeing an excellent abolitionist, who professed to abstain from using the produce of slave-labour, taking a pinch of snuff. (Great laughter.) We understood him to support the omission of the words objected to.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER and Mr. CREWDSON supported the resolution as it stood.

Mr. STURGE had felt a deep interest in this question, and had for a considerable time looked at it pretty closely, but he hoped the present resolution would be well considered before it would be allowed to pass. He thought that they ought to strengthen the hands of the faithful. He had been with their dear and venerated friend, Mr. Clarkson, that morning, and he had put into his hands a letter by Samuel Webb, whom he was sure they all knew. He would read to the meeting an extract from that letter. That worthy individual said—"I understand the abolitionists have the majority in England—nay, some say all England is abolitionised. If anything like that be the case, let not this appeal to you for help evaporate in wordy sympathy for us, or for the poor slaves. We ask not for pecuniary nor for physical aid; but if your people are abolitionists (which I do not doubt) let them say to the avaricious slave-holder, 'Keep your cotton at home, it is stained with blood! Your sugar is moistened with the tears of suffering humanity; we will have none of them. We can procure a supply of such articles free from the taint of slavery.' He was fully aware that the question was surrounded with difficulties, but he thought they could do more than they had done.

Mr. GEORGE THOMSON had received a communication a few days before he left Scotland from the secretary of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia; they had already possessed themselves of free-grown produce, and were offering a premium for it. They were also willing to take from this country manufactured goods, provided it could be clearly shown to them that they were manufactured from free-grown produce. There was great interest excited in the United States on this subject, and he thought it would strengthen their hands very much if the resolution, instead of being passed in its present shape, was modified. (Cheers.)

Mr. BOULTBEE, of Birmingham, considered the resolution to be very well drawn up, and hoped it would be adopted.

The Rev. Mr. SCALES was convinced of the difficulties that surrounded the present question, but he thought all must admit that great advantage was to be derived from the encouragement of free-labour.

The CHAIRMAN thought that without the present resolution the public mind would be left asleep on this subject.

Mr. W. DAWES, of Ohio, was satisfied that the American slave-owner would never give up his slaves until he saw the greatest willingness in the party who called upon him to do so to give up himself and any comforts he might derive from it, to the cause of the abolition of slavery. He thought they would act very inconsistently, if, when they asked the ministers of America to avoid assisting the slave-trade, they did not practice what they preached.

Mr. PAICE would concur with Captain Stuart in promoting the adoption of the resolution, if he could be persuaded that the members of the convention were themselves consistent, and would carry out in practice that which they recommended. The resolution could not be brought forward by a more consistent man than Captain Stuart, and believing in that consistency, he took it for granted that he was not clothed in cotton, the produce of slave-labour; and that when he had his coffee, he took care that it was not sweetened with sugar, the produce of slave-labour. He thought if they were consistent, they might with great propriety send forth the present recommendation; but if they did not act so, the attempt would only recoil upon themselves. He did not regret the conversation that had taken place, but he thought the wisest course would be to withdraw the proposition for the present.

Rev. Mr. CARLYLE, after all that he had heard against the resolution, was in favour of their own principles. After having studied some years ago the duty of abstaining from slave-produce, he thought he was acting with perfect consistency if he voted for the resolution. Of course, his personal consistency afterwards was a matter for which he held himself responsible to God.

Mr. ALLEN thought the words "as far as practicable," should be in the resolution.

Mr. MOORE, of Dublin, moved as an amendment to the resolution, the addition of the following words—"that this meeting adopts and earnestly recommends." He thought they could not act consistently without they added those words.

Rev. Mr. BARFITT, of Salisbury, thought the question ought not to be disposed of hastily. He would suggest whether, upon the whole, it would not be better to defer the passing of the present resolution until the committee should have brought before the convention the different produce of slave-labour and free-labour, so that they might be in possession of the knowledge of that which they could fairly abstain from.

The CHAIRMAN said, the committee to whom reference had been made would not be able to report during the present session.

Mr. BRADBURN, from America, would be glad if the committee to which this matter was submitted should be able to throw over this important subject some new light, for he was very much afraid there was but very little clearness on the subject. He had known many who had abstained from using the produce of slave-labour. This gave him great pleasure, as he considered it a noble testimony against the monstrous crime of slavery; yet he was afraid there was little consistency in his friends on the subject. He thought the present resolution was extremely indefinite; one man would form one opinion as to what was objectionable, and another a very different one: he had known men who had flattered themselves that they were acting upon this principle, when they abstained from using cotton and sugar, and yet allowed themselves to purchase articles of merchandise from those who encouraged slave-labour. If the principle contained in the resolution was to be acted upon, the consequence would be, that it would starve more than half the inhabitants of the island. (Hear, hear.) He considered the whole matter beset with difficulty. If they were to cultivate their own cotton in the East and West Indies, they would accomplish more towards the extinction of slavery, than if they were to go on as they were now doing for fifty years to come.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER objected most seriously to the resolution, on the ground of expediency. It did not touch the point in dispute. If they were anxious to do anything, let them do that which would meet the case.

Mr. BACKHOUSE thought the resolution, if passed, would be a dead letter; and it would be almost impossible to carry it out. He thought they would weaken what they had already done, if they went too minutely into these things.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON was convinced that they would only weaken their case by adopting the resolution, which, as it appeared to him, spread over too wide a field.

Mr. G. STACEY would press on the mover of the amendment, the propriety of withdrawing it. The convention was not then prepared to adopt so important a proposition with the unanimity which should be desired. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. KENNEDY wished to suggest a new proposition, which he thought would meet all the difficulties of the case. He would move—

"That in order to facilitate the use of free-labour produce, this convention requests the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to institute a careful inquiry into the produce of slave-labour, and to prepare and circulate as complete a list as they can obtain of those commodities which are thus produced, furnishing at the same time a statement of similar articles which are obtained by free labour."

The Rev. J. BARFIELD seconded the amendment.

Captain STUART was opposed to all amendments, approving, as he did, of the original resolution. He would leave that resolution in their hands and abide by their decision.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON was persuaded that the adoption of the original resolution would be attended with great inconvenience. It would involve a degree of distress on many of the inhabitants of the island which no one present could conceive.

Colonel MILLER supported the original resolution. The Bible was on their table, and the Bible told them not to be partakers in other men's sins.

The amendment of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy was then put and carried almost unanimously.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Professor ADAM brought up and read the resolutions of the committee appointed to consider the subject of East India slavery. The first point to which he was desirous of directing their attention was a statement made that morning, in connexion with the question then under discussion. Some doubts were entertained with respect to the cotton brought from India; but the facts of the case were made apparent by the report of the committee. He should add, however, as far as his information went, there was but one district in the south of India, that of Tinnevelly, in which slavery existed. He would tell them to raise their voice as a convention for the abolition of slavery in India, and to call on the British people and the British government no longer to tolerate a system in the East which they had declared illegal in the West Indies. It appeared that under the government of the East India Company there exists, almost altogether unknown to the people of England, two distinct kinds of slavery legalised and enforced by the Company. But was that the only stigma on their national character? No; the English people were flattering themselves that all their colonial possessions were free from a similar stain, but in that they were mistaken. Ceylon was a crown colony not administered by the East India Company, and which ought to have been included in the emancipation act wrung from the government of this country, and yet that colony included among its population 30,000 slaves at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) That was a subject which should not escape the attention of the convention. Neither slavery in the East Indies, nor slavery in Ceylon should be allowed to continue. Let the people of England speak on those subjects with the authority which became them as a free people, and they would soon compel their government to do its duty, and to carry into effect its past engagements. (Cheers.)

The Rev. JAMES ACWORTH moved that the resolutions of the committee should be adopted by the convention. He thought that the British government should be called on to fulfil its pledges; and while they were addressing themselves to the French, the American, and other powers, for the suppression of slavery, they should not forget that it existed under their own rule. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. JAMES PEGGS seconded the motion. The subject then under their consideration was one to which his attention had been directed for several years, and on which a very great want of accurate information prevailed. When it was proposed that slavery should be abolished in India on or before the 12th of April, 1837, and when a clause to that effect had passed the House of Commons, and had been brought up for the adoption of the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington observed, that "there was no necessity for framing any law or regulation with regard to slavery in the East Indies." He had, he said, "served in that country, and lived among its inhabitants, and he had never known an instance of cruelty practised towards slaves there, if slaves they could be called." The consequence of that declaration of the Noble Duke was that the original clause was rescinded. But the statement merely proved that great men were not always exempt from great mistakes. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that slavery prevailed in our Eastern possessions to a great extent. From all the data he could collect on that subject, it appeared that there were in the Southern Caucan 2000 slaves, in Surat 2000, in Ceylon 27,397, in Assam 11,000, and 3000 in Penang. The total number amounted, according to the most accurate statement, to 800,297. The condition of a portion, at least, of these slaves, was most lamentable. According to a high authority, that of Graeme Campbell, Esq., "Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of the slaves of Malabar, whose huts were little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently showed the want of adequate nourishment. They were distinguished from the rest of the human race by their dropsical pot-bellies; they were half-starved, badly clothed, and scarcely superior to the cattle which they followed at the plough." (Hear, hear.) He most cordially seconded the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. COLVER said that England should interfere in the case. It would go forth to the world that, after all that Great Britain had done, she had not yet cleansed herself of the stain of slavery; and while she addressed her lessons to other people, she would be answered with the words, "Physician, heal thyself." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. R. MOORE said that the matter should be fairly stated. It was not the British government which held any parties in slavery, but the East India Company—a body which it was exceedingly difficult to reach.

Mr. PRICE said the subject should be taken up by the whole British public, and he doubted not by that means the evil would be removed in a very short time. He was persuaded that the appointment of a commission which would press the matter with the East India Company would render the objects of the convention perfectly practicable.

Colonel MILLER said, that, after all the reproaches addressed to America for the sanction which she gave to slavery, the same system existed under British rule. The English people should not permit such a state of things.

The resolutions were then put, and unanimously adopted.

SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

Mr. BIRNEY read a report of the committee appointed to consider the state of slavery in Texas, which concluded with a recommendation that the government of Texas should not be recognised by any other state, until they had rescinded the resolution they had passed on the subject of slave-holding. That resolution was to the effect that no master could liberate his slaves without the permission of the local government, and that the government could not pass an act of liberation without the permission of the masters. They had thus taken the most effectual step for the perpetuation of slavery which human ingenuity could devise. By another enactment in force in Texas, no man of colour was allowed to remain there and retain his freedom; he should immediately retire from the province, or become a slave. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to have heard a statement from Mr. O'Connell, that while such acts were enforced no ministry in this country could dare to acknowledge the independence of Texas. (Hear, hear.) He submitted the resolutions to the meeting, with a hope that they would be adopted without any discussion.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the resolutions should be adopted.

Mr. STANTON, of New York, seconded the motion.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

COMPENSATION.

The Rev. Mr. BURNETT moved a resolution to the effect that, "as it was essentially unjust on the part of man to claim a right of property in his fellow-man, that convention was of opinion that the slave-holder, in ceasing from his wrong, was entitled to no compensation, either from the slave himself, or from the government under which he lived, for any loss he might sustain by an emancipation act." The rev. gentleman proceeded to say, that no objection could, in his opinion, be made to that resolution. It contained precisely the views which he had always held with regard to emancipation, and which he regretted that the anti-slavery advocates in this country had not pressed till they had succeeded in carrying them. (Hear, hear.) His regret did not arise merely from the loss of a certain sum of money, but because a great principle had not been asserted, namely, that those engaged in a trade of robbery were not to receive a compensation when they were compelled to give up their stolen goods. (Hear, hear.) He would submit the resolution, hoping that it would be immediately adopted.

Mr. BIRNEY seconded the resolution. He believed that the abolitionists of the United States agreed almost unanimously in adopting its principle—all with whom he was acquainted were the opponents of compensation. He felt that their power would be greatly impaired by sanctioning the doctrine of compensation, not merely for the reasons assigned by the last speaker, but because it would draw them away from the main question, namely, the essential guilt and heinousness of slavery. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRADBURN, thought that the principle of the resolution was a most important one, but it appeared to him to be advisable to connect another with it, which he was told would be recognised by the British abolitionists. He believed that those abolitionists had never been in favour of the principle of compensation, and if that were the case, he thought it right that it should be made known to the whole civilised world. The question constantly put to them in America was—Why did they not follow the example of England, and offer some compensation for the value of the

slaves, which amounted to twelve millions of dollars. To that question, such an amendment as he had suggested would afford the best answer.

Mr. STURGE said that the British abolitionists had not sanctioned the principle of compensation, and 339 delegates had gone to Lord Grey and protested against it.

Mr. J. C. FULLER suggested that the resolution should contain an allusion to this circumstance.

The suggestion was agreed to, and the resolution, as amended, began by stating "that the British abolitionists had solemnly protested against the compensation granted to the planters while the question was before Parliament, and a conviction being entertained by this convention of the injustice of man holding a right of property in his fellow-man," &c.

The Rev. J. CARLYLE thought the statement with which the amended resolution commenced went too far. The British abolitionists had not all rejected the principle of compensation, and that principle had been yielded by the Anti-slavery committee.

The Rev. Mr. BURNET said that 339 delegates from all parts of the kingdom had protested against any compensation. The Anti-slavery committee had gone with them, and it was one of their body who had put the question.

The Rev. Mr. ROBINSON wished to make an observation. Those who held slaves were induced to do so because they were encouraged by the law; and might it not be said that the members of the state, from whom that law emanated, should share in the loss that might be incurred by emancipation?

The Rev. Mr. BURNET said that there could be no right derived from injustice.

The resolution, as amended, was then put, and carried without a dissentient.

Resolutions were then put and adopted, without any discussion, to the effect that a memorial should be presented to Lord Palmerston, praying his lordship to enforce the act of Parliament with regard to slavery in the British colonies; and that certain members of the convention should hold an interview with the members of the government on the subject.

The convention adjourned.

MONDAY, JUNE 22nd.

The convention assembled at the Friends' meeting-house, White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street.

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. FORSTER moved resolutions (substantially the same as those printed below) but containing the words "call upon the British government to use all moral, pacific, and religious measures to suppress the slave-trade."

Colonel WAUCHOPE, R.N., made an appalling statement of the horrors he witnessed in the slave-trade from Africa—hundreds were stowed in a space not two feet nine inches high!—(Hear, hear)—and on the alarm of cruisers, were mercilessly thrown overboard. (Hear, hear.) No colouring could exceed the atrocities of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) It was a gambling transaction, in which the miscreants cared no more for the lives of negroes than for dogs. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. COX objected to the word "religious," as implying a call upon the government to take religious measures under its sanction, which he thought would compromise the question of religious establishments.

The Rev. Mr. BIRT concurred in the objection.

Mr. GALUSHA considered that by "religious means" was only intended acting on those great christian principles which all governments should follow. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. A. HARVEY said, as a Scotch dissenter, he could not agree to the words, which would compromise the question now being discussed with so much violence in Scotland.

Mr. STURGE and Mr. BACKHOUSE were of opinion that the words only implied that the government would act for the suppression of the slave-trade on religious principles. (Hear.)

Colonel MILLER strongly supported the retention of the words.

Mr. STURGE again expressed himself deeply convinced of the propriety by these means, of powerfully conveying the sense of the convention, as to the superiority of religious measures, of which alone they could recognize the employment.

After a good deal of discussion and many suggestions,

The Rev. J. H. HINTON at last suggested that the difficulty might be met by omitting the reference to government, and merely expressing the opinion of the convention.

This was agreed to; and the resolution passed as follows:—

"That it is extremely desirable that provisions should be made by the laws of those nations where slavery is tolerated for giving full and effectual relief to persons illegally imported and held in slavery, in consequence of such illegal importation, and to their offspring, as also to such persons as have been or may, in consequence of their entering the limits of countries in which slavery exists as aforesaid, be reduced to slavery."

"That, in the opinion of this convention, the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade have lamentably failed of success, that the sufferings of the slaves have been greatly augmented, that vast sums of money have been fruitlessly expended, and that no means can be effectual, except such as are based on moral, religious, and pacific principles.

"That it is the opinion of the committee that the scheme of Mr. TURNBULL, as explained by him in his statement submitted to this convention, though it involves questions of detail into which this convention cannot enter, is in its object and purpose, and in several of its suggestions, of great practical importance, and demands the earliest attention of the governments represented in the mixed commission courts but that the only security for the extinction of the slave-trade is the universal abolition of slavery.

"That the most cordial thanks of this convention be given to Mr. TURNBULL for the unwearied zeal and able exertions with which he has prosecuted the object."

Mr. TURNBULL then proposed a series of resolutions, but on the suggestion of Mr. Sturge and another friend he withdrew them, it not appearing convenient to pledge the convention so minutely to particular measures.

Mr. BIRNEY rose to move that a reference be added to the original

resolutions, directed to the states (such as Alabama) in which coloured freemen were held on entering them to be enslaved.

Mr. O'CONNELL, with great warmth, begged to know if British subjects were included in such laws.

Mr. BIRNEY—There is no distinction of nations; all coloured persons.

(Hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL—Do you know any cases of such enslaving of British subjects.

Mr. BIRNEY did not know of any cases of British subjects, but he did of others. (Hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL indignantly declared that such laws were contrary to international principles—(Hear, hear)—and he would inquire of the government if they knew of their existence. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB declared that he had known of several coloured free individuals from Montego Bay, Jamaica, who had been kidnapped into Alabama, and enslaved, one of them a young lady. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BIRNEY said the states would not remedy the evil, and the central government must be resorted to.

The Rev. Mr. KNIBB said there was one part upon which he wished to give some information to the meeting. It was a fact that the free subjects of Great Britain were taken from Jamaica and sold as slaves in America, and he could state to them that a young lady, the daughter of a noble lord, who had gone from Montego Bay, had been detained as a slave in America. (Hear, and cries of "name.")

Mr. O'CONNELL wished the rev. gentleman would give him the facts in writing.

A DELEGATE asked whether any steps had been taken in the matter?

Rev. Mr. KNIBB said, when the Marquis of Sligo heard of it, he had sent a British man-of-war to demand the lady, but she was still a slave, and so were many others who had gone out as nurses and servants, and had been sold in the same way. Unless some steps were taken, it was impossible to say where the system would end. Indeed, to such a pitch had it gone in Jamaica, that it had been found necessary to warn every coloured and black man not to go on board an American ship. Some of the American vessels were in the habit of taking coloured men at New York, and when they got to Jamaica they shipped them as slaves to other ports. It had been said by the American consul there, that if there was any interference it would occasion a war with America, but his (Mr. Knibb's) answer was, let it come, he did not care for that. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL had no hesitation in stating, that if the British government did not interfere for the protection of British subjects—if they allowed them to be thus deprived of their freedom, and made slaves of, nobody ought to pay a single penny in the shape of taxes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STANTON said, there were 800,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and if they did not take good care, the Americans would get hold of them all.

After some further discussion, Mr. Birney withdrew his amendment, and the resolutions were then agreed to.

Mr. W. FORSTER said it appeared to him, that the present was the proper time to bring forward a resolution on the subject of American slavery. Mr. Forster here read his resolution. He could add, if required, his own evidence of what he had seen when travelling through the southern states of the North American Union in 1824, but it was almost unnecessary to add anything to the facts that had been already laid before the convention. He had not forgotten, nor would he ever forget, the impression that had been made upon his mind of the enormity and iniquity of that trade, as carried on at the time, from the older to the more newly settled states of the Union.

Colonel MILLER seconded the resolution with regard to the internal slave-trade in the United States. Though Congress had declared the slave-trade piracy, they had never visited the parties with the punishment of piracy.

Mr. STANTON was sorry to be under the necessity of moving an amendment to the resolution that had been proposed and seconded. It was not correct in point of fact, because it stated at the conclusion—"that it is at the same time our deliberate judgment—that the only effectual remedy is the utter extinction of slavery." Although he agreed in the general proposition, that the only remedy was the utter abolition of slavery, yet that principle did not apply to the internal slave-trade in the United states, because while the congress had not the power of putting an end to the slave-trade in the union, they had the power to extinguish it in the internal parts of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL thought that the resolution as proposed was full of good common sense. It only said that the effectual way to abolish the slave-trade was to abolish slavery.

Mr. BRADBURN concurred entirely in the sentiments that had been expressed by the honourable member for Dublin. If they got a law from the congress in America, he would venture to say they would not be able to carry it into effect without a large army of soldiers, because slaves would be smuggled from one state to another. The great object in getting congress to pass a law for the prevention of this species of traffic, would be that it would hold out a great moral example.

Mr. JAMES FULLER thought the meeting ought to be made well acquainted with what the internal slave-trade in America was, before it was called upon not to adopt this resolution.

Mr. W. FORSTER said that he would not press the resolution upon the convention if they would only allow him to propose another, or call their attention to the state of slavery in the Brazils. From an official return of vessels engaged in the slave-trade to the coast of Brazil, under the Portuguese flag, that arrived at the port of Janeiro, it appeared that 84 vessels had entered that port, bringing with them 36,974 slaves. And although the number of vessels and slaves imported in that year was less than the preceding one, the trade could not be considered as having diminished, for the reduced number of slaves imported in 1838 was to be accounted for, by several of the traders having ordered their vessels to discharge at other ports of Brazil, and fit out from thence. In order to show the manner in which the slave-trade was carried on, he would just advert to some few of the vessels engaged in that traffic which had entered the port of Rio Janeiro under the Portuguese flag during the year 1838. In the month of January in that year, the brig *Generoso*, from Quellimaine, landed no less than eight hundred slaves at Sepetiba; in March of that year, the barque *Maria Carlotta*, from Angola, landed eight hundred and twenty-nine slaves, and the *Carolina*, from Quellimaine, landed 1050 slaves from Campos. In June, 1838, the ship *Cintra*, from Mozambique, took in a cargo of 970 slaves, 214 of whom died on the passage from

small pox, and the remaining 756 were landed in a very sickly state at San Sebastiao. The brig-schooner *Esperance*, from Cabinda, landed 400 slaves in a very sickly state, and there were now 5000 newly-imported slaves on sale at the different repositories in that city and its environs. He would not pursue this account further, but it showed a most lamentable picture of the traffic in human flesh. The return then went on to state that there were four large repositories for slaves in the vicinity of the city; that the most considerable is that at the Bay of Jurujuba, which is supported by Jorge Jose de Souza, Joze Bernardino de Sa, Joze Pimenta, jun., and Joao Maceado Surdozo, who have occasionally had there as many as 6000 slaves on sale. The second in magnitude is that at the Ponta de Caju, where there are warehouses close to the beach for the reception of slaves, and at all times there are many of these miserable beings on sale. The other two depositories of Botafogo and St. Clemente, are not so extensive as those first mentioned; but occasionally they are well supplied with slaves. In many houses in the public streets of this city, and in the suburbs, there are from sixty to one hundred slaves continually on sale. At the town of Itagoahy, near to Ilha Grande, slaves are as openly sold as they were at the slave-market street of Rio Janeiro, before the prohibition of the trade by the treaty with Brazil. The slave cargoes are regularly insured by the assurance companies and individual underwriters of Rio Janeiro. There exists a company for lending money on respondentia for slave cargoes. Some of the slave-traders are making arrangements for employing steam-boats in the trade. It would be seen from this that the slave-trade was carried on to a very great extent in this port; but if further proof was required, it was to be found in the different correspondences that had taken place between the representative of this country at Lisbon and the Foreign office. In a letter from Lord Viscount Palmerston to Lord Howard de Walden, of the 12th of May, 1838, it appeared that an address had been unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, representing to her Majesty that the slave-trade still continued with great intensity, and that it had even been aggravated in all its horrors. In a letter from Mr. Jerningham to Viscount Palmerston, it was "stated that the importation of slaves into Brazil was immense, and that they are cheaper than when the traffic was legal, there being now no duty upon them." And in a letter from Lord Palmerston, to be presented by Lord Howard de Walden to the Portuguese government, it was stated that the Atlantic swarms with vessels bearing the flag of Portugal, and loaded deep with human victims. In 1837, forty-eight vessels bearing the Portuguese flag entered the port of Havana, after having landed slaves in the neighbourhood; and in 1838, forty-four Portuguese vessels followed in the same course; and reckoning upon an average 443 slaves for each vessel, the number of slaves landed in Cuba by these Portuguese vessels must have been at least 40,700. But the number of Portuguese slave-vessels which carry on the trade with Brazil is still greater. At Rio de Janeiro above ninety-three slave-vessels under the Portuguese flag are reported as having entered the port in the year 1837, and as having landed in the province to which that capital belongs the enormous number of 41,600 slaves. In the year 1838, eighty-four Portuguese vessels landed in the same province 36,700 slaves. It will be observed that this calculation does not include the number of Portuguese slave-vessels which resort to other places in Cuba besides the Havana, nor to any other provinces in Brazil but that of Rio de Janeiro. To these must again be added the number which founder at sea, and the number of those which are captured and condemned, which at Sierra Leone amounted to thirty-six, in the two years 1837 and 1838. And in another letter from Viscount Palmerston to the Baron de Moncorvo, it was stated that "the cruelty with which the trade is carried on has not been lessened in these latter days." It has been stated during the very last year, that "in these slave ships, hundreds of negroes are, during long voyages, crammed into spaces far too small to contain them without the greatest degree of bodily suffering; that the slave-traders, when chased, are in the habit of throwing overboard into the sea those negroes whose health has broken down under the torture of their confinement; and that, in order to lighten their ship, and facilitate their escape, they actually drown such of their cargo as are not likely to be profitable for sale in the market to which they are going." And, in a letter from her Majesty's commissioner to Viscount Palmerston, the following occurred:—"It will not, we hope, be regarded as irrelevant to this subject, if we again advert to the indirect, if it should not rather be called the direct, interest which British merchants and British capital in Brazil, derive from the slave-trade. With what but British goods is the African market, the freight which is to be bartered for the slave, supplied? With what but slave-labour are the works, originating in British capital and enterprise, carried on in this country? How are the various mines, which, but for similar support, would soon become inoperative, worked? Not by free, but by slave-labour." Mr. Forster after reading this document, said he would only say that he should have been glad if these facts had come to the knowledge of the convention at an earlier period.

Mr. GEORGE STACEY hoped the convention would come to some resolution on the information thus communicated. He believed it to be a most important feature in the proceedings, and to make known a greater amount of misery and iniquity connected with slavery than any other document that had been brought before them.

The Reverend THOMAS SWAN, of Birmingham, rose to submit to the convention a resolution relative to the missionaries in Jamaica, which he desired to see adopted, not so much for their honour and for justice to them (for they stood higher than that) as for the honour of the convention, and that it might do justice to itself. It had been put into his hands by a clear-headed and kind-hearted member of the Society of Friends, to whom he had been previously unknown, but whom it delighted him to be of use to, in introducing it to the convention. It was as follows:—(A short conversation ensued on reading the resolution, relative to the insertion of other names than that of Mr. Knibb, and it was ultimately carried in the following terms:—"That this convention having heard with the deepest interest and the greatest satisfaction the proofs adduced by the Rev. W. Knibb and the Rev. J. Clark of the moral advancement, the literary improvement, and the christian progress of the emancipated labourers in Jamaica, expresses its warmest sympathies with those devoted and calumniated men, Mr. Knibb and his coadjutors, who, under circumstances of much excitement and great difficulty, have by their prudence, firmness, and christian courage, protected their coloured brethren in the enjoyment of those equal rights and that entire independence which were intended by the act of emancipation, and which the liberality of the British people gives them a right to demand." It was pretty well known to

most members of the convention that Mr. Knibb had been called everything but a gentleman. (Laughter.) A respected ministerial brother on one occasion, at Birmingham, had produced a catalogue of names which has been given him, and stated that he was generally known by that of the Daniel O'Connell of Jamaica. (Laughter.) Certainly that was multum in parvo. (Hear, hear.) The names of American abolitionists stood high—of women as well as men—Angelina Grimké, Maria Chapman, and others, among whom he would name, as an American abolitionist, George Thompson. (Cheers.) These names were musical in their ears, but they did not stand higher, in his humble judgment, than did those of the missionaries in Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) Let it not be forgotten that to them we were indebted for the act of emancipation. But higher honour awaited them; that to being subjected to the frowns of the wicked in high places—of being maligned and falsified for righteousness' sake, by those from whose fell grasp, they had rescued the suffering negro. But their characters, he would be bold to say, would stand the test, and come forth from this furnace as gold seven times purified. Their characters were as immaculate as their exertions were noble, and God would be with them—Omnipotence would stretch his hand over them, and keep them as the apple of his eye. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. HARVEY rose with great pleasure to second the resolution. He thought the cause of abolition in the West Indies owed much, not only to the labour but to the courage and Christian prudence of the missionaries. But for the resistance of these intrepid men to all attempts to silence them, the cause could not have advanced so rapidly as it did. The missionary Smith had carried the torch of liberty through the land, and roused the population, and the noble stand made in Parliament by Lord Brougham in vindicating the missionaries had roused many to action who had never acted in the cause of the slave before; and now emancipation was carried, he believed the prudence of the missionaries had already done, as certainly it would be required to do, much to secure its full benefit to the negro. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'Connell would not be guilty of any lengthened trespass on their patience, but he could not be silent on this motion of thanks to his friend Mr. Knibb. (Hear, hear.) And really he would prefer though he could not express his sentiments in adequate terms of admiration of the conduct that gentleman had pursued, and for gratitude for his services: yet he would infinitely prefer that his tongue should do discredit to his intellect in attempting to speak his merits justly, than that his heart should be restricted in the expression of his gratitude to a man who had suffered so much, and had done so much good for the cause of the negro. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen here little knew what perils Mr. Knibb had undergone—they little knew that he had this merit, of exciting the animosity and hatred of every enemy to morality, religion, and liberty in Jamaica. (Cheers.) In proportion as good men favoured the vices of the system of slavery there, and of course when all bad passions and sinister interests were combined in one impulse in favour of slavery, so potent must have been the motives in the white population, and so potent were the enemies of Mr. Knibb. But they had not confined themselves to calling him a very O'Connell. (If they could have called him worse they would have done so) (cheers and laughter) but they had traduced him in every possible way. His path had been beset with vilification and calumny. His person had been seized, and for daring to thank God that he had escaped the necessity of resorting to armed force to protect himself, for no greater crime he had been manacled, fettered, and cast into prison, and many regretted they had not made him a martyr by putting him to death. And did that intimidate him? No! With true agitation courage (cheers and laughter) he determined to act with three-fold greater zeal against the enemies of Christianity and freedom than he had ever done before. (Hear, hear.) It was not only the purity of his intentions, his exertions, and his success which deserved their approbation—it was the talent, the tact, and the perseverance with which he had followed up all his exertions in favour of his coloured brethren, whom he now had the glorious recompence of seeing embracing every good work—coming forward to declare their belief in the Redeemer—anxious for the education of their children—setting out their land. And freemen, aye, and freeholders too (cheers) looking forward to the time when they should have their representatives in the assembly, and instead of looking to England to protect them, should assert their own rights by strength of acts and arms if necessary, but still more satisfactorily by their power in the legislation of the island. (Cheers.) To Mr. Knibb, and those who participated with him, much of these results were due, and by the manner in which they had overcome difficulties which opposed them, they had given salutary experience in other countries of the facility with which they could work out the emancipation of the negro. (Hear, hear.) What a lesson had they read of America and of the Brazils!—what a living and speaking picture had they exhibited of the facility of carrying out emancipation, and of the safety of doing justice (hear, hear) and it would be a libel against the God of justice if it were safer to exercise iniquity and tyranny—to inflict stripes and punishment—to rob men of their time and labour; and to declare that there would be danger in doing justice, and setting free the slave, and in touching the consciences of men, and urging them to an act of tardy retribution (Cheers.) Until the experiment was made, however, this would not be believed. Glory be then to the spirit manifested in the effort, (cheers) and let that spirit be cherished and transmitted. There were many young Knibbs there now, whose hearts were throbbing strongly to distinguish themselves, who would learn, in the praises received in that convention, the rich reward good men bestow on the worthy participants in the cause of universal freedom. Mr. Knibb and he (Mr. O'Connell) differed much in their religion—that was an affair between themselves and God—(hear, hear)—but they agreed heartily in its highest and greatest principle—that of universal charity and benevolence towards man. (Cheers.) His hon. friend might receive praise which he had not expected, but he had well deserved it. He had been a confessor in the great cause of human liberty, he was almost a martyr, and here they had him ready to be a confessor and a martyr yet. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. STURGE said he thought it right to say Mr. O'Connell was slightly mistaken in one circumstance, which he had mentioned. Mr. Knibb at the time he was imprisoned for his zeal by the government, had been compelled to take up arms, and had not refused to do so.

The Rev. J. BIRT, of Manchester, said that although there might be some indelicacy in a personal friend of Mr. Knibb's joining in the discussion of this resolution, it might be thought on the other hand, that if such a person were silent it might seem as if he did not cordially agree in the sentiments expressed by others. Mr. O'Connell with his usual point

and eloquence, had alluded to the many difficulties which the ardent zeal and perseverance of Mr. Knibb had overcome, and had shown how these difficulties had only stimulated him to greater exertion, but those who had known Mr. Knibb for many years, and the course he had pursued, knew well that to a mind like his—kind and tender, as well as ardent and zealous—the timidity of the friends of liberty, and the over prudence of many who offered him their counsel was far more painful. These persons complained that he was not sufficiently delicate in his expressions—that he told the truth too boldly (hear, hear)—and even went so far as to shock the delicacy of some sensitive persons by calling things by their right names. (Hear, hear.) These were difficulties harder to overcome than calumny, but he had passed safely and successfully through them, and whatever he might have felt when his friends had endeavoured to restrain him, or at the fierce hostility of those who threatened him with destruction, he had been sustained and carried through the trial, and they had now to congratulate him in the success of their exertions, in which he had taken so prominent a part, and he trusted that he would live to see the day when they should meet to celebrate one universal jubilee of all mankind, and when the whole world should join in the dissemination of the principles of morality, religion, and peace. (Cheers.)

Dr COX felt anxious that on this occasion, the name of Mr. Burchell should not be forgotten, because he too, had stood in the front of the anxious battle that had been fought in Jamaica—he too, as Mr. O'Connell had observed, was a confessor, and almost a martyr, and at that moment was sinking under the effects of his exertions in Jamaica. He wished to see associated the names of Burchell, Gardner, Clark, and Knibb, for they were all "honourable men." (Cheers.)

After a short but eloquent eulogy on Mr. Knibb and his brother missionaries, from the Reverend Thomas Scales—

Dr. HOBY said, with reference to one sentiment that had fallen from Mr. O'Connell, it ought to be remembered, that there had been "a young William Knibb," a youth of twelve years old, who died of a fever produced by excess of joy on hearing that the members of his father's church had united in the voluntary manumission of their slaves, and so deeply were these persons impressed with the excellencies of the character of the young philanthropist, that they erected a tablet to his memory. He thought it would be interesting to the convention to know the trial which their friend had been called on to endure, and that his beloved child had fallen a martyr to the cause. (Hear.)

Dr. G. K. PRICE said the gentleman who had preceded him, had spoken from reports from Jamaica; but he begged leave to present himself to them as one who for a series of years, had been acquainted with the operations of the Baptist missionaries and others in Jamaica. He thought his testimony would be valued, as in 1823, when he had first sailed to Jamaica, he went with the notion that the security of property in that island was likely to be disturbed by this result of their exertions, and he remembered that in his first communication from the island, he had expressed the opinion that they should do very well, if Mr. Buxton and others would only let them alone. But it was not long before he saw proper to recall this opinion, and he could state that he attributed it without reservation to the instructions of those excellent persons, and their judicious conduct in many respects, the great preparation that was made in the negro mind, for the benefit that was afterwards conferred on them. (Cheers.) Such was the spirit of honesty and morality that prevailed, that he could expose property in Jamaica in a manner in which he could not do it in England, and such was the conviction of this truth there, that many of the slaves who had been active in destroying their chapels, had not been backward in supplying resources for raising them again. (Hear, hear.) He, (Dr. Price,) had had the honour of suffering some loss with the missionaries, and also of opening his doors to them and those belonging to them, when many others were shut, and he was desirous to offer his acknowledgments for the many benefits he had received from them in return. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, and the convention adjourned till four o'clock.

EVENING SITTING.

The convention re-assembled at Four o'clock.

Mr. R. JOWITT brought up the report of the committee appointed to consider the situation of the negro population of Upper Canada. It was as follows:—

"This committee, viewing with the deepest interest, and the most earnest solicitude, the state, condition, and welfare of the coloured population of Upper Canada, and finding that attempts have been made by slave-holders in the United States to re-capture and bring into captivity such fugitive slaves as have taken refuge in the province by accusations of felony; and as it has come to the knowledge of this committee that, in the attempted surrender of persons so charged, human life has been sacrificed, do earnestly recommend to this convention to address her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, inquiring, as far as he deems consistent with the public service, whether instructions have been sent to her Majesty's representative in Canada so to act, in the event of any renewed application, as will prevent a coloured fugitive from such surrender."

"And whereas public provision has been made in the different districts of Upper Canada for the purpose of education, and schools having been opened to which the coloured people have been invited by the lieutenant-governor of the province; and whereas the odious, unchristian prejudice against colour has operated most detrimentally in frustrating the desires of the government by virtually excluding coloured persons from these schools, this committee strongly recommend the convention to address the colonial minister, requesting that he would issue such instructions as may insure to the coloured population of Upper Canada the benefit and blessings of education in common with the white inhabitants of the province."

"This committee also begs respectfully to submit to this convention, that it is very desirable that the paper of the Rev. Herbert Taylor, read by one of the secretaries, showing that slavery is a recognized principle of the Hudson's Bay company, and that native Indians are held as slaves both by the company and its servants, should be brought as early as possible under the notice of the government, in order that immediate and effectual measures be taken for its entire suppression."

THOMAS ROLPH, CHARLES EDWARD LESTER, JOHN W. WAYNE,	RICHARD DAVIS WEBB, ROBERT JOWITT, ROBERT FORSTER."
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Mr. FORSTER seconded the adoption of the report, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. FORSTER said he was deputed by his brother then engaged in the labours of the convention, to move—

"That this convention has heard with horror and detestation a few details of the appalling extent of the illegal trade in slaves from Africa to the Brazils; and feels called upon to recommend the whole subject to the close and unremitting attention of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society."

Mr. PRUMPHY seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. FERGUSON moved, and Mr. Alderman BULLEY, of Liverpool, seconded the motion, that,

"This Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow, of which the internal slave-trade is carried on from the older to the more newly settled slave-states of the North American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually to this unrighteous traffic."

"Resolved—That on expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence that this should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave-trade, and declared it to be piracy—this convention is impressed with the conviction that such a systematic trade in man must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involved in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the trader; and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America to remove this stain from the character of that nation."

Dr. HODGKIN was anxious to say a few words respecting the colony of Liberia, of which he had been an anxious observer for many years. He desired not to raise a discussion respecting the success of the colony then, but he did hope that the Members of the Convention would fully consider the question in their private meditations. He could assure them that the question was much misunderstood. He deplored the sort of civil war, as he might term it, which raged amongst the friends of the negro upon this subject, and was sure it was only because of erroneous information upon it.

A very desultory conversation ensued, many denying that the colony had been any benefit to the negro, but, on the contrary, a curse. There seemed, however, to be a general wish not then to enter upon the subject, and as it was said —

Hon. J. G. BIRNEY had received some late information upon the subject, he was called upon to speak. He said the Colonization Society was organized in America in 1817, and consisted almost exclusively of slave-holders. They had the complete control of all matters in the Society—their object was to remove all free blacks from America, because they considered they contaminated the slaves. The negro population, however, met and declared that they would not remove, and their reason was a most amiable one—they would not remove because their brethren were in slavery. (Cheers.) In a meeting held in Philadelphia, in 1817, at which there were three thousand negroes, they declared unequivocally their repugnance to the scheme, and that repugnance had been gradually growing ever since, so much so, that within the last twelve years no one had gone from the free States. All the emigration had been from the slave States, and he knew nothing in the law of the States to prevent the former master of one of the slaves sent to Liberia from claiming him again as a slave whenever he pleased. The reason urged in favour of the Society was, that in the States it was impossible for the two races, the blacks and the whites, to live in harmony together. But such was the antipathy of the free-people of colour to the Society, that during a period of twenty years' actual colonization, it had only been able to export about 5,000, bond and free. A great deal of cruel and relentless legislation had been carried on against the free-coloured population. The State of Ohio, for instance, he believed, had passed a great many sanguinary laws against them since the institution of the Society. The Legislature of Ohio had passed a law which prevented the free-coloured man residing within the limits of the State—from giving testimony before a Court of Justice—so that those poor people had suffered the deepest wrongs without redress. (Hear, hear.) A coloured man could not give testimony as to what was called a book account. A white man might prove an account before the proper tribunal, and was received as a good witness, but a coloured man was prevented doing so. He could not even bring forward the testimony of another coloured man if his adversary was a white man, so that he was often cheated; but of course the virtuous part of the community did not avail themselves of that law, because they would not refuse payment of a just account. His opinion was, that before the institution of the Colonization Society, the condition of the free-coloured people in many parts of the country was improving, and they were permitted, where schools were established, to send their children to them; but after the colonization was carried into effect, vast portions of the children of the coloured people were excluded from those schools, although the coloured people were taxed for the support of those schools as well as the whites. It was sometimes said that portions of the tax paid by the coloured people was set apart for them, and they could have their schools if they pleased; but, in consequence of the small number of the coloured people, and their dispersion over the country, it was impossible to maintain a school exclusively for them; so that, in fact, the law amounted to an actual inhibition entirely. (Hear, hear.) Another argument put forth in favour of colonization was, that it would put an end to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and would christianize and civilize the people. He would make one remark on the probability, or rather improbability, of ever succeeding by colonization in christianizing the heathen of Africa. He believed the history of the civilized world would not show a single instance in which christian colonization, as it was called, had been successful in christianizing the heathen. He might mention William Penn as the noblest specimen of a Christian statesman.—(Hear, hear.) He doubted not the aborigines of the State of Pennsylvania would have been a christian people if they had survived; but they had been entirely exterminated, and in fact, that kind of colonization could not be carried out. The same result followed the Spanish colonization. Those who went out under Columbus were a christian people; and in the time of Columbus Spain was not exceeded as a religious country. They found the Island of Hispaniola with a million of inhabitants. In fifteen years that one million was reduced to 14,000. He thought colonization was not effectual for this reason, namely, that those who went out to colonize naturally adopted the social organization to which they had been accustomed.—

Ultimately they assumed superiority over the heathen, and the latter feeling their inferiority and degradation, hated and despised the former, and at length disaffection came among them. As to the cessation of the African slave-trade, he begged leave to make an observation. He had had a conversation with Captain Richardson that morning, who told him the slave-trade was carried on in Liberia without any hindrance.

The Rev. C. BIRN wished to ask the hon. gentleman, before he sat down, a question respecting the truth of a statement he had heard as exhibiting the feeling of the people of colour in New York. He had heard that the agent of a Company formed to institute a cemetery or burying-place for coloured people apart from the white, waited on a coloured gentleman, for a contribution, but that gentleman declined giving one, and said, "You have provided a large grave yard in Liberia, and therefore it is unnecessary to provide one here."

Hon. J. G. BIRNEY had not been aware of the anecdote himself, but he had no doubt it well expressed the feelings of the coloured people with regard to the climate of Liberia. As to the prosperity of the colony itself, he believed the great mass of the people were in extreme want, and that multitudes of them were anxious to return to the United States. To show the mortality there, he might mention that an expedition, as it was called, was sent out from New Orleans, consisting of 150 persons, emigrants to that colony. A very intelligent coloured man, named Jure, who went out to explore the country, on his return told him (Mr. Birney,) that within six months after the vessel sailed, 85 out of the 150 died. Frequent attempts had been made to persuade the Board of Managers at Washington to exhibit accurate statistical returns, but that had not yet been done. The colonization scheme in his country was the strongest antagonist to the free principle advocated by the friends of the negro; and although it was ineffectual in carrying out the object in view, yet it was not ineffective in its opposition to the Anti-Slavery Society. The hon. gentleman concluded a very able and interesting address, amidst great applause, by moving the following resolution :

"That this convention regards the scheme of African colonization, proposed and urged by the American colonization society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro race, whether bond or free, both in America or Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the christian."

JOHN CROPPER, Esq., seconded the resolution.

MR. FULLER could not conceive how christian people could support colonization, for he conceived it was opposed to every christian principle.

MR. BANNISTER hoped the convention would adopt some means by which those in England would be made aware of what had been doing in Liberia for the last seventeen years.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

(To be continued.)

Advertisement.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negros behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

Amount already advertised.....	£1533	18	0
Paul Austa, Esq., Devizes	2	0	0
W. T. Blair, Esq., Bath	1	0	0

Subscriptions will be received by J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by HENRY STERRY, Secretary, 42, Trinity Square, Borough.

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